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178 formerly, and the social cleavages symbolized in this habit are no longer
184 so drastic as before. On the other hand, when the Golibdaana, in his overweening conceit, tried to copy the dress and the court procedure of
178 a Mampuru chief, there was wide indignation. The Chief of Tongo,
184 with whom he thus sought to equate himself, protested with such vigour
626 to the District Commissioner that the latter ordered the Golibdaana to stop his new practices. A man of enormous wealth and great power failed to get away with an innovation prepared with extravagant expense, because it ran counter to the politico-ritual structure of the society. He would never, incidentally, have dared to attempt this in former times, or, for that matter, have had the motive to do so. His behaviour is due to the arrogance of newly acquired wealth and power. But Tale institutions are still too strongly integrated to give way to such blatant subversion.

613 The notions of the continuity, persistence, and stability of their culture and social organization, so vital for the Tale outlook on life, have their roots in the lineage system. The whole social system of the Tallensi hinges on their lineage system with its religious counterpart, an elaborate ancestor cult. Unbroken continuity of descent, persistence of self-identical corporate units, stability of settlement—these are the intrinsic characteristics of the Tale lineage system. It requires the assumption, which the ancestor cult places beyond question, that the social structure of to-day is the same as it was in the past.

173 The Tallensi, therefore, have no history in the sense of a body of
773 authentic records of past events. The memories and reminiscences of
578 the old men are parts of their biographies and never contribute to the building up of a body of socially preserved history. Their myths and legends are one means of rationalizing and defining the structural relationships of group to group or the pattern of their institutions. Some of them have perhaps been built up around events which actually occurred and people who actually lived. It is, for example, quite probable that the Namoos actually came from Mampurugu originally, and that Mosuor really lived. The ancestor cult, the settled life, and the whole cultural idiom of the Tallensi lend support to such an inference, but there is no objective evidence. Tale myths and legends counterfeit history; they do not document it. They are a part of Tale social philosophy, projected into the past because the people think of their social order as continuous and persistent, handed down from generation to generation. A myth or a legend postulates a beginning for what has existed thus ever since. Even in our civilization naïve philosophers try to understand their society by similar devices. In the elaborately differentiated structure of Tale society there are regions of high tension where groups are coupled together in polar opposition and regions of low tension where the units of structure are articulated in complementary relations to one another. The myths epitomize the factors which differentiate one group from another. The greater the differentiation at any point the more elaborate is the legend. Hence we find the most definitive and conspicuous legend, that of Mosuor, associated with the relationship of greatest tension, that of the Namoos to the Talis. We find, also, that the emphasis of a myth is on the relationships which most precisely define the structural position

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of the group to which it refers. Owing to the balanced distribution of political and ceremonial functions between units of structure, the members of a group always overrate their own relative significance while non-members underrate its importance. These, sometimes contradictory, valuations find expression, also, in the way myths are presented. It is the technique of contraposition coming to the surface again. When, therefore, in these days new tensions develop, erupting sometimes into open conflict, they are inevitably reflected in the cast given to their myths of origin by interested parties.

The Major Cleavage in Tale Society

Our reconnaissance of the cultural landscape of the Tallensi has left us with a tangle of facts which do not fall into an obvious pattern. The reader may rest assured that his perplexity bears no comparison to that of an ethnographer seeking, for the first time, to understand Tale culture and social organization. The perspective changes as the investigator shifts his vantage point. The greatest puzzle of all is why there is so little apparent unity and coherence in an area of such dense and close habitation, carrying a population that has been sedentary for a long time, has a more or less homogeneous culture, and a strong sense of the continuity and stability of its social order. Leaving aside this puzzle, for the present, let us see what are the positive conclusions to which our survey leads.

The point of primary importance is that a major cleavage runs through the whole of Tale society. On the one side stand communities or parts of communities the members of which are generally agreed to be the descendants of immigrant Mamprusi. These are the Namoos. On the other side stand similar social groups who claim to be and are accepted as the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and earlier immigrants whom they absorbed. This cleavage is given a symbolic formulation in myths of origin the historicity of which need not concern us.

This cleavage is so fundamental that it permeates the whole social outlook of the people. One sees it most vividly in the martial choruses chanted at important funerals. One of the high lights at the opening ceremonies of the funeral of an important person is a grand mimic war march (*dee*) of the men of the clan. In their finest clothes, weapons in hand, plumed helms on their heads, blowing whistles and accompanied by drummers, the men gather in lineage squadrons to march round the settlement, and eventually mass at the house of the funeral. They march irregularly in an unorganized mob with excited children trailing behind and women dancing on the flanks trilling the shrill *kpelomot* cry of elation. And as they march, especially as they approach the funeral house, they chant defiant challenges against their traditional enemies in the wars of former-days. 'Yo ho!' they chant, 'we might rise one day at break of dawn to sally forth against certain people.' 'Is it not because of us', the Namoos chant taunting the Talis, 'that you have water to drink?' And again, 'Do you not mock at them, do you not laugh at them?' And now and then a man leaps forward, crouches scowling, pretends to shoot off an arrow, and cries scornfully, 'If it were not for the white man, by now we would be meeting them in battle'. It is all play-acting, but there is an

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ing the installation or the funeral of a tendaana, both receive sacrifices. But the *Bɔyar*, like its homologue among the Namoos, is more precisely a symbol of the continuity and perpetuity of the clan and its constituent lineages. It is more explicitly a focus of that solidarity of the clan or the lineage which is deemed to follow automatically from the fact of their common agnatic descent. The Earth, on the other hand, though its cult is also intrinsically bound up with the agnatic line, stands rather for the common interests and common values embodied in the customary norms and sanctions of collective life.

It is significant, however, that the *Bɔyar* cult and the Earth cult, both of which serve to express the unity and solidarity of the clan, also serve to emphasize the relative autonomy of its constituent maximal lineages. Each maximal lineage has its private lineage *bɔyar* (*dugni bɔyar*), the shrine of its particular lineage ancestors, worshipped only by members of that lineage, and the *dugni bɔyar* is conceived as itself a part of, or a derivative of, the clan *Bɔyar* (Duunkpaləg). It is, so to speak, the domestic incarnation of the great External *Bɔyar*. In the same way each maximal lineage has its private Earth shrine, associated specifically with that part of Zubiun which it occupies, and under the sole custody of its own tendaana. Both in relation to the *Bɔyar* cult and to the Earth cult, the tendaana of each maximal lineage represents the entire lineage. It is through him that these mystical powers are mobilized on behalf of the lineage, and through the joint action of all three tendaanas that they are mobilized for the good of the clan.

The integration of the clan on the religious plane is characteristic of its corporate solidarity in all matters of common interest. Every corporate activity presumes the relative autonomy of the three maximal lineages in relation to one another. The unity of the clan is built up on the relative mutual independence of its segments. Common interests emerge as a balance of divergent emphases, and conversely the autonomous interests of the three constituent maximal lineages of the clan are aspects of the common interests of the whole clan. Thus the rights and duties, privileges and obligations, vested in each maximal lineage, through the mutual adjustment and articulation of which corporate action occurs and clan unity emerges, are jealously guarded by each lineage.

Many incidents could be quoted to substantiate this analysis, but one will suffice. When the final rites of installation for the new Kpaɣara-yaɣar tendaana were being carried out I accompanied him and his lineage elders to Duunkpaləg, where the most important rite of the series was to be performed. We were soon joined by the Yakɔra representatives. The Yapaasdem did not come for another hour or so. Indignant comments were made about their tardiness. It was said to be a chronic fault of theirs, and they were criticized also for neglecting their duty as junior *nnɔɔp* who should have come to escort the tendaana-elect to Duunkpaləg. The Yapaasdem, said one of the elders, were going the way of all things to-day, scorning established custom and taking the course they found most convenient to themselves 'In a little while', he stormed, 'we shall all (that is, each maximal lineage) be sacrificing separately.' The other elders protested in a chorus at this, exclaiming, 'Oh no, we won't abandon our

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forefathers in that way (*ti ku zaŋ ti banam bah ŋwala*)'. Some of the younger men of Yapaas were merely being tiresome. 'You'll see', countered the man who had spoken earlier, sceptically, 'some day there will be a quarrel over something, the division of meat at a sacrifice, or the inheritance of a widow, or something of that sort, and then you people of Zubiuŋ will split up.'

Meanwhile, we continued to wait for the Yapaasdɛm, for the ritual could not be performed without the presence of their representatives. In due course they arrived. Far from expressing contrition, they excused themselves by accusing the others of having bungled the sequence of the rites. A violent argument followed, but one of the elders cut it short. No doubt, he said, the Yapaasdɛm preferred a different order of the rites. That was their affair. The senior lineages had no intention of copying them. To-day the ceremonies were *their* concern, and now that all the lineages were properly assembled they might as well get on with the business.

Linked Maximal Lineages and the Field of Clanship

Corresponding to this structural differentiation within the clan, each maximal lineage has its distinct field of clanship. One segment of Yakɔradɛm, known as Pulien biis, is an attached lineage descended from a 'sister's son' of the authentic lineage. Another segment (Zaŋgɔbɔg yidɛm) is an assimilated lineage, said to be of slave descent. Members of this segment are debarred from holding the tendaana-ship. Pulien biis have the right to hold the office, but mainly in a titular capacity, for they are barred from its most essential responsibilities. In other respects these accessory lineages have been fully absorbed by the authentic line of Yakɔradɛm, and participate in all the corporate activities of the latter.

The Yakɔradɛm have ties of clanship with Gbizug, which counts as the senior segment of Gbeog, and is bound to Gbeog proper by the usual ties of clanship. But there are no ties of clanship between Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra and Gbeog proper. They may not marry a daughter of Gbizug; they may and do marry Gbeog women, who would of course be barred by the rule of exogamy from marrying into Gbizug. Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra also have ties of clanship with Ba'at-Sakpar, one of the major segments of the clan of Ba'ari; but they have no ties of clanship with any of the other Ba'ari maximal lineages. Similarly, they have ties of clanship with Zoo-Yiraaŋ, but not with the Namoo lineage of Zoodɛm proper. The other two component maximal lineages of Zubiuŋ are excluded from this field of clanship. For instance, they can and do marry Gbizug, Ba'at-Sakpar, and Zoo-Yiraaŋ women.

These extra-clan ties of clanship are rationalized in various ways. Gbizug and Ba'at-Sakpar claim to be the consanguineous kin (*dɔŋam*) of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra, because, as the myth of the primordial tendaanas relate, the founding ancestors of all three lineages were 'brothers'. The Zoo-Yiraaŋdɛm are claimed as kin (*dɔŋam*) of the latter because their founding ancestor is said to have been a 'sister's son' of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra. It should be noted that such a remote cognatic link does not in every case establish ties of clanship. The same fiction is used to account for the existence of

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602 ground-nuts ready for harvesting, might pluck a few twigs of guinea corn
608 or pull up a bunch of ground-nuts to stay his hunger. He would shout
618 out, 'Whose corn is this, yo-o-o? I am going to pluck some.' The owner, standing on his flat roof, would probably remonstrate and swear, but he would not raise a hue and cry, for this was not theft but an exaggerated assertion of clanship ties. Nowadays, since the political
578 jealousies between the chiefs of Tongo and of Yamələg have brought about a state of chronic hostility between the two places, this pleasant custom has fallen into disuse. It is impossible to tease people with whom one has open or suppressed enmity; it would certainly provoke a fight.

618 Such liberties, it is of interest to note, could never be taken with the people of Sie or Biuk, though they, too, are the clan *sunzop* of Tongo. For, as my informants explained, 'they are too far away, and therefore they would resent it'. On the other hand, while any Tongo man can pluck a handful of guinea corn or a bunch of ground-nuts from a clansman's field at Tongo if the two men are on good terms, no one would dare to intercept the food contribution of another Tongo section's relatives-in-law. A serious quarrel would inevitably result. 'We are too near each other, we are like the members of a single family', explained my informants. Every segment of Tongo is likely to be represented at the funeral ceremony at which these contributions from relatives-in-law are shared, to claim the share due to it. For any segment to anticipate this by violence would be a gratuitous insult implying that the other segments do not respect its rights. The people of Yamələg and of Sie used to act in the same way towards each other before the political jealousies that to-day poison their relationship arose.

184 All Tallensi think alike on matters of this sort, which fall within the
618 ambit of their common culture, whatever their particular structural affiliations may be. This Namoo custom and its recent obsolescence fit the pattern we have established for the more conventionalized joking partnerships of the Talis.

618 Yet another kind of joking which I have several times witnessed
602 adds confirmation to our analysis, the more so because it is entirely
578 informal. This occurs between the members of two maximal lineages which are bound to one another by inescapable ties of politico-ritual interdependence. They are usually maximal lineages which have complementary politico-ritual offices, such as a chiefship and the tindaanaship complementary to it. A large element of tension is necessarily involved in these relationships. Mutual loyalty and solidarity in situations involving common interests are counterbalanced by mutual suspicion in matters concerning the private interests and possessions of each lineage. Behind a strong sense of amity and interdependence lurks a jealous vigilance in regard to reciprocal rights and duties.

When, therefore, representatives of the two groups meet in a ceremonial or jural situation, the more aggressive among the elders often taunt one another playfully at moments when ceremonial formality is relaxed. Gbizug and Tongo men, for example, have a habit of doing this. The Chief of Tongo and the Gbizug tindaana, on the rare occasions when they meet in public, will interrupt a long and ceremonious discussion with a

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jesting altercation about their mythologically founded bonds of mutual coercion. Ta'aŋ, the Gbizug tɛndaana's brother, who often deputizes for him in public ceremonies, has a sharp tongue. When representatives of the tɛndaana and of the Chief of Tongo have to perform some ceremony together he always pretends to mock the Namoos. 'You are only guests here,' he jeers (referring to their immigrant origin), 'I (as representative of Gbizug) have given you land to sit on, but if you don't behave I'll drive you back to Mampurugu, where you came from.' The Tongo men laugh good-humouredly at this sally, and one of them might answer, 'Very true, but if we should decide to go back to Mampurugu and leave you to yourselves, you will just starve'—the reference being to the Chief of Tongo's ritual power over the rain. Elders of Kpata'ar and Gundaat, which have a similar politico-ritual relationship to that of Tongo and Gbizug, often tease one another in the same way when they meet to perform a ceremony together.

Tallensi say this is just fun, jesting (*koohɔg*); but we see again that this apparently spontaneous jesting acts as a means of reconciling and counteracting the tensions of a double-edged social relationship. Where two corporate groups are structurally divided from each other to the point of having potentially competitive interests likely to lead to conflict at one level of the social organization, but are at the same time bound to each other by strong ties of obligatory co-operation and goodwill in another aspect of their social relations, the undercurrent of hostility or mutual wariness is deflected by a jest. You jest with people who must be friendly to you in terms of one set of loyalties and may be hostile to you in terms of another, and with whom you are on an equal footing as far as mutual rights and duties go. In the social relations of individuals with one another, this configuration occurs between siblings-in-law; hence the notion that the joking relationship between corporate units is modelled on *dakiirɛt*, the relationship of siblings-in-law.

Privileged Moral Coercion

There is another peculiar tie belonging to the category of social relations which we have been discussing. So far as my information goes, it is also confined to the Talis and their congeners. Its moral aspect is of particular interest as a clue to the values that lie at the back of the basic principles of Talis social structure.

The natives have no name for this relationship. In virtue of it, pairs of clans or lineages usually on the margin of the field of clanship of each, but not joking partners, have the privilege of moral coercion over each other's members. The natives describe this as a taboo (*kihɛr*). No member of one group may refuse a request of any member of the other. 'They *dare not* refuse', one informant declared, with obvious solemnity, as if to emphasize that it was a question of deep moral values. 'If they don't give what we ask, they would die, their house (i.e. lineage) would fall to pieces (*ba yiri gbi'irme*).' In other words, if anyone violates this bond, not only he but his entire line of descent would perish—the most calamitous retribution conceivable to the natives and one which befalls only those who transgress the ultimate tenets of religion and ethics.

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182 have not only bonds of local contiguity, but an additional tie of ritual
x618 interdependence in that their heads install each other in their respective
769 ritual offices. Similarly, Sakpee and Samiit have an added ritual tie in that their heads each have a special role in the ceremonial installation of the other. Finally, the head of Samiit exercises a special politico-ritual function in relation to the head of Kpata'ar. It is his task, in times of great social emergency, formally to adjure the head of Kpata'ar to initiate the ritual procedures necessary to avert disaster.

Thus, underneath the general collaboration of the communicants of Bona'ab with one another in the *Bɔyar* cult, and interweaving with it, spread these particular, divergent ties between different pairs of maximal lineages. In many situations these subordinate ties hold fast where the superordinate ties of ritual collaboration between all the communicants are not strong enough to override the cleavages between them. It is a
●[578] striking thing, for instance, that whereas Nakyeet yiri and Sakpee have tended to side with the Golibdaana of Bunkiuk in the struggle for power that has been going on between him and the head of Kpata'ar during the last few years, Gundaat has stood staunchly by the latter. The general bond of ritual collaboration in the *Bɔyar* cult has not ensured the support of the whole Bona'ab congregation for Kpata'arna'ab yidem in this struggle, and even the specific ties of clanship between them and Nakyeet yidem have not been proof against the lure of the Golibdaana's fleshpots.

It is characteristic of Tale society that the structure of a community, whether it be a permanent community or a temporary community such as emerges in the cult of the External *Bɔyar*, is directly mirrored in every situation and every institution in which this structure becomes manifest. To take a very simple example: when the congregation of Bona'ab assembles there for a sacrifice, the representatives of the different maximal lineages sit in a fixed order. Kpata'arna'ab yidem sit in the place of greatest honour, since they are the senior custodians, and the other lineages are distributed as shown in the diagram opposite. It will be seen that this diagram gives a picture also of the structural relations between the different lineages, and incidentally of their local relations to one another. It shows in a nutshell how local, structural, and politico-ritual relations are interlocked with one another and converge to create and maintain interclan co-operation and solidarity. The diagram shows also how the ritual roles in any of the rites and ceremonies connected with the worship at the *Bɔyar* are distributed amongst the different maximal lineages.

182 Kpata'arna'ab yidem are the senior custodians also of the supreme
x618 Earth shrine of Tenzugu, Doo; but in the cult of Doo they have a com-
794 pletely different set of ritual collaborators from those associated with
796 them in the cult of the External *Bɔyar*. They have a different field of ritual relations counterpoised to that of which the External *Bɔyar* is the focus. The units associated with Kpata'arna'ab yidem in the cult of Doo are Degal (linked by clanship ties to them, but having its own External *Bɔyar*), Golibdaan yidem of Bunkiuk (who have no clanship ties with Kpata'arna'ab yidem, and are the senior custodians of a different External

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Bəyar from theirs), and Tamboog (who also have no clanship ties with Kpata'ar, and have an independent External *Bəyar*). These four units must be represented at all rites performed at Doo during the Great

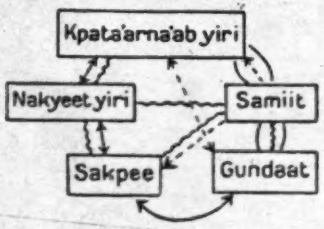

Diagram showing the seating arrangements at ceremonies in the sacred grove of the External Bəyar BONA'AB, as reflecting the structural relations underlying ritual collaboration in the Bəyar cult.

⟷ = Clanship ties
〰 = Ties of local contiguity
- - - → = Specific ties of politico-ritual interdependence
⌒ = Other social ties.

Festivals. Each one has also a private Earth shrine, with which the other three groups have no connexion, but their common allegiance to Doo binds them to one another in mutual ritual dependence. This should mean also, and by all accounts formerly did mean, a bond of mutual amity and cohesion; for there is nothing, according to Tale belief, which the Earth abhors so greatly as strife between those who worship it together at the same shrine.

To-day the cult of Doo furnishes an outstanding instance of the relativity of such ritual sanctions to the structural relations of the corporate units amongst which they are effective. During the Great Festivals, the four maximal lineages meet as of old to perform the prescribed rites at Doo. For this limited period and this objective they are obliged to set aside their antagonisms and collaborate amicably. At other times, however, they are divided by the struggle for power that has been going on between the Golibdaana and the Kpata'arna'ab. Both Degal (in spite of their clanship ties with Kpata'ar) and the majority of the Tamboog people have been seduced by the wealth and power of the Golibdaana.

The pull of loyalty to Kpata'ar sustained by the common cult of Doo has not, however, remained altogether ineffective. In order to make their religious relations with Kpata'ar consistent with their newly arisen political hostility to them, the supporters of the Golibdaana have tried to oust Kpata'arna'ab yidem from their traditional status in relation to Doo. They would thus, if they succeeded, have put Kpata'ar in the position of a faction opposed to the rightful principals in the cult of Doo.

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578 On the other hand, there are dissidents in the Gɔlibdaana's camp who rationalize their opposition to him and find a rallying motive for it in the traditional loyalty which they owe to Kpata'ar in virtue of their reciprocal ties of ritual collaboration.

182 For Kpata'arna'ab yidɛm, Degal, Bunkiuk, Gɔlibdaan yidɛm, and Tamboog, their common allegiance to Doo counteracts their divergent loyalties to their respective *Bɔyar* congregations. Doo, however, does more than merely bind these four units to one another. It is the focus of integration of the four *Bɔyar* communities they represent; and it is the point of confluence of the distinctive fields of clanship and of local ties of these four units. The ritual of the Gɔlib Festival when closely analysed shows that Doo is the palladium of all the Talis, the centre about which the equilibrium of all their corporate relations with one another swings.

Thus, to be specific, Tamboog is regarded as representing Wakii, and therefore, in virtue of the latter's ties with Gbizug, Zubiuŋ, and Ba'ari, these clans as well. Tamboog also represents Wɔyar and the other members of its *Bɔyar* congregation. Kpata'ar represents the other units constituting its *Bɔyar* congregation, and through them Soog and Gbeog. Degal represents the Talis on the east slope of the hills and the adjacent plain. Bunkiuk represents its *Bɔyar* congregation, which includes segments of Zandoya, Yinduuri, Sii, and Gorogo. And intersecting these groupings run the numerous ties of clanship, joking partnership, clanship-by-courtesy, privileged coercion, and local contiguity, that link up particular members of different groups.

We have considered only the two major ritual institutions through the medium of which the clans of the Talis are articulated into interdependent sets, and these again serially interlocked in a single system. There are also a number of other religious institutions ancillary to the cults of the *Bɔyar* and the *Tɛŋ* in which more localized forms of ritual collaboration unite maximal lineages and clans, not otherwise ritually related, on certain occasions. It would be tedious to deal with them at length. It is enough to say that their effect is to interweave more closely the numerous threads which form the amazing web of politico-ritual relations among the Talis. They make the system complete to its last detail.

182 796 The all-embracing range of this web of politico-ritual relations comes out most plainly in the Great Festivals. The cycle requires the ritual co-operation not only of all the Talis but of the Namoos as well. The distribution of ritual roles and responsibilities amongst the clans is such that every corporate unit has a specific role associated with a particular phase of the cycle and with particular ritual emblems. Thus the cycle of the Great Festivals unites all the Tallensi in the performance of one connected series of ritual acts, and this is a bond of profound importance for all their social relations with one another.

The Great Festivals are dramatizations on the plane of ritual symbolism of the most vital and universal values of the Tallensi. They express the idea that the common good of all the Tallensi is founded on the inescapable interdependence of their elaborately differentiated clans and lineages. This common good, the ritual of the Great Festivals might be interpreted

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562 *pɔyayabəlɛg*, particularly of one who is living at her husband's house.
×618 To be sure, her kinship ties with her own family and with the segment of the maximal lineage to which her father belongs are not severed; indeed, a woman's relations with her paternal clan are largely regulated and mediated by these ties. The concept of *pɔyayabəlɛg* implicitly stresses the fact that it is a woman's fate to be married out of the clan and to be cut off from its routine corporate activity; and it contains the idea that a woman thus separated from her parental home is felt to belong primarily to the widest corporate unit that stands in contraposition to her husband's, where his relations with her are concerned.

Thus outside the range of the lineage segment in which generation differences are recognized, a *pɔyayabəlɛg* is referred to as 'our sister (*ti tau*)' by any of her clansmen, and she speaks of them as *ntap*, 'my brothers'. A man visiting the settlement of another clan makes himself at home in the rooms of any *pɔyayabəlɛg* of his clan. When the cow-peas are ripening, a *pɔyayabəlɛg* visiting her clan settlement—her 'father's house' (*ba yiri*), as it is described by extension of the concept of the father's house or lineage in the narrowest sense—may pluck cow-pea leaves (*bɛŋət*) for herself anywhere in the settlement. A Yamələg or Sie *pɔyayabəlɛg* can do this at Tongo, for instance, if she is merely passing
●[578] through on her way elsewhere. No one would resent it; but if the wife of a member of a segment of the clan other than his own were to pluck a man's cow-pea leaves without his express permission, it would lead to a quarrel. Similarly, it is customary for women to come and collect a basket of grain from the men of their parental family after the harvest. A *pɔyayabəlɛg*, however, is permitted to ask any of her clansmen for a gift of this kind. Thus it sometimes happens that a Yamələg or Sie woman married to a man at Yinduuri comes to a clansman at Tongo after the harvest for a gift of grain, or a Tongo woman married to a man at Datɔk or Duusi calls on a clansman at Sie for such a gift. As these examples indicate, a *pɔyayabəlɛg* of a linked maximal lineage counts as a *pɔyayabəlɛg* of the clan.

562 When a woman's funeral is celebrated by her husband's people the
764 last act is 'to send her home (*kulh*)' to her father's house. For this ceremony a large party of men and women in their gayest clothes, led by the nearest agnates of the dead woman and escorted by drummers and musicians, sets out for her husband's settlement to 'receive her funeral (*die koor*)'. When such a party is being assembled, messages are sent to the heads of all the constituent lineages of the clan, and representatives are generally sent from all the lineages to accompany the party. It is partly a matter of duty, and partly an act of courtesy and a voluntary demonstration of clan solidarity. Sometimes young people of linked lineages join the party, knowing that it will be lavishly entertained by the affinal clan and that there will be dancing and girls to flirt with. Fetching the funeral of a *pɔyayabəlɛg* is an affair of the whole clan.

562 The *pɔyayabəlɛg* has a formal status in the lineage and clan, and this
613 status is recognized as an intrinsic element in the structure of the lineage and clan. The fiction behind this is the idea often explicitly stated by the natives that but for an accident of birth she might have been a man

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living at Zoo and Gbambee, though they are an integral part of the community.

Like all Tale settlements Tongo has no fixed territorial boundaries. (See map at end of book.) Its frontiers with the circumjacent settlements take the form of a social circumference, kept in being by local, genealogical, and politico-ritual ties and cleavages. This is the line of ecological and social balance between Tongo and its neighbours, more or less stable now, but still undergoing minor readjustments as this balance changes with alterations in the internal equilibrium of any of these units. It is most stable and firm where the genealogical, political, and ideological cleavages between Tongo and its neighbours are clear-cut and dominant; it is more pervious where Tongo's structural ties with an adjacent clan have greater strength than the cleavages between them. Thus, there is a distinct though sometimes narrow territorial separation between the outermost homesteads of Tongo and those of Wakii, Soog, Gbeog, and Ba'ari. At one point on the west side of Tongo only a stretch of cultivation separates Tongo homesteads from Wakii homesteads a stone's throw away. Tongo homesteads actually lie on the Wakii side of the watercourse which might have formed a natural boundary between them. On the south this watercourse and a straggling outcrop of rocks and boulders hedge in Tongo and mark it off from Wakii. A prominent landmark here is Samoo, a mass of huge rocks overgrown with trees and scrub. It is a sacred spot, the External *Bɔyar* of Soog and Gbeog. North of Samoo lies Tongo, the nearest Tongo homestead being about 50 yards away; south of it are Wakii and Soog. It would be most unlikely for a Tongo man to build his homestead on the south side of Samoo, or for a Soog or Wakii man to live north of it. For Samoo symbolizes all that the Namoos consider alien, hostile, and to some extent repugnant, in the cultural differences and structural cleavages between themselves and the Hill Talis. In olden days the immediate vicinity of Samoo was the no-man's-land where the two groups used to meet in battle.

Soog, Wakii, Gbeog, and Ba'ari, all Talis clans that were among the traditional enemies of Tongo in war, are all demarcated from the latter. On the border between Tongo and each of these clans is a stretch of land, cultivated or uncultivated, but free of homesteads, which is still thought of as the traditional battle-ground of the two groups. It is significant that these battle-grounds are all associated with Earth or *Bɔyar* shrines under the ritual jurisdiction of the Talis clans.

By contrast it is impossible to draw a clear line between the homesteads of Tongo and those of Zubiuŋ or Zoo. They merge completely. This corresponds to the close ties which have always existed between these three units and have enabled them to fuse easily into a single political community under the authority of the Chief of Tongo, since his acquisition of judicial and executive power under British rule.

In the old days Zubiuŋ and Zoo always fought on the side of Tongo against the Hill Talis. Both clans have direct politico-ritual roles in connexion with the Tongo chiefship, and come into its immediate field of influence, whereas the Hill Talis and Ba'ari come into its secondary field of influence. The three clans act as *sunzɔp*-by-courtesy (cf. ch. V) to

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621 166 184 people from Tongo and Zoo settle at Gbambee, which is only an overflow settlement, irrespective of kinship or lineage relationships, usually on land formerly utilized by their forefathers as bush farms.

621 182 178 Elastic as it is, the social boundary between Tongo and Zoo has not disappeared. This is shown in the effort made by the people of Zoo, during the past two generations, to resist being swallowed up politically by Tongo. To preserve the autonomous status of the chiefship of Biuŋ, which is vested in the Zoo Namoos, the chiefs of Biuŋ now reside there permanently instead of at Zoo, as in former times. It is evident, also, from the recognition by leading men of both groups, that they are now more closely united than in the days of their fathers. They describe this as part of the general trend towards wider political consolidation, both within clans and between neighbouring communities, 'since the white man tamed us (*nasaara m-maa ti*)'. They commonly quote a trivial but telling sign of this. Nowadays one often finds a group of Zoo boys pasturing their cattle side by side with a group of young cattle herds from Tongo, and playing amicably with them. 'When I was a boy', a Zoo elder [578] said, 'this never happened. The Tongo children were strangers to us, and our fathers used to warn us not to go near them, for we always used to fight and that would cause bad blood.'

621 Between Tongo and Gbeog dwells the numerically small (they number under fifty males) but socially powerful maximal lineage of Gbizug. A social boundary, intermediate in character between that which separates Tongo from Zubiuŋ and that which demarcates it from the Hill Talis, runs between it and Gbizug. They are more distinctly separated, territorially, than Tongo and Zubiuŋ, yet so closely contiguous that constant friendly intercourse and mutual assistance is a regular feature of the relations of members of the two units with one another. At the same time, the cleavage in terms of descent, ritual observances, and jural interests goes deeper than with Zubiuŋ. Gbizug is closely allied to the Hill Talis and Ba'ari by ties of clanship, politico-ritual collaboration, and common ritual values. It is also bound to Tongo by inescapable ties of politico-ritual interdependence and mutual constraint. This accentuates the social boundary between them. The politico-ritual function of Gbizug is to hold the balance between Tongo and the Hill Talis. It stands aloof in their disputes, taking neither side, for it belongs equally to both and wholly to neither. Thus, important ceremonial events at Gbizug are attended both by representatives of Tongo and by representatives of the adjacent Hill Talis clans and Ba'ari, though the former take a more distant, passive, and extraneous part in them than the latter.

621 166 167 We have mentioned Gbambee, a settlement of about 25 to 30 homesteads straggling over a row of stony hillocks alongside a great stretch of low-lying bush, most of it uncultivable, which lies just beyond Zoo. This is regarded as merely an outpost of Tongo and Zoo, where the younger men, who are most handicapped by the scarcity of land at home, can find an economic outlet. Hence a man may live there for many years, grow old and die there, but he is generally brought back to Tongo or Zoo for burial among his ancestors. There are many indications, however, that Gbambee will soon become stabilized as a permanent settlement.

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A small number of Tongo people have gone yet farther afield in search of a livelihood: to Biuŋ and other peripheral settlements, to Mampurugu, and, increasingly in recent years, to the tempting Eldorado of Ashanti and the Colony. Thus, not all the members of the Tongo branch of Mosuor biis and its accessory lineages live at Tongo at any given time; but within its confines live only members of the sub-clan and their families; and for all members of the sub-clan, wherever they may be living, Tongo is their home, the centre of gravity of their social existence.

We have said before that no two Tale settlements are exactly alike. Allowing for specific differences, however, the local and social circumscription of Tongo may be taken as typical. The general rule is that boundaries exist in terms of social cleavages co-ordinated with residential distribution, and not of geographical or topographical features; and this rule applies both to the spatial relations of contiguous settlements and to those of parts of a settlement with one another. Community and locality cannot be dissociated. The maxim, 'A *tey* is not a *tey* if there are no people in it', always cited to explain the strong sense of ethical obligation felt by the natives to accept a suitable immigrant in any community, if land is available, sums this up. The boundary disputes that have become common between chiefs and headmen in recent years turn on the contradiction between the conception of a defined territorial boundary fostered by British rule, and the type of social boundary inherent in the native social structure.

A revealing case occurred among the Hill Talis. The elaborate interlocking of the Hill Talis clans with one another through clanship ties, ritual collaboration, local cohesion, and political loyalties, and the diffused solidarity to which this gives rise, impel them to common or mutually supporting action in crises. Yet even among them, social boundaries divide clan from clan and maximal lineage from maximal lineage both spatially and structurally, and come into operation in certain situations. But these social boundaries are far less firm than those between Tongo and its neighbours. Groups of contiguous clans cohere to nearly the same extent as a genealogically organic community like Tongo. Tɛnzugu, in particular, and Yinduuri-Zandoya, form two such close-knit sub-communities within the wider community of all the Hill Talis.

Since 1936 a boundary dispute has embittered the relations of the Golibdaana and the Yinduurna'aba, who are recognized by the Administration as headman of Tɛnzugu and headman of Yinduur-Zandoya respectively. It is an insoluble dispute, bound to remain a chronic source of friction as long as these two headmen exercise the territorially defined powers entrusted to them by the Administration.

The dispute concerns a segment of Zandoya living on the slope of the Hills between Yinduuri and Tɛnzugu. It was at length, after many evasions on the Golibdaana's part, brought before the Chief of Tongo for arbitration. But this ended, inevitably, in a deadlock. The Golibdaana, crafty and overweening, as only a man of his extravagant wealth and unyielding temper could be, when he knew himself to be in the wrong, took his stand on a criterion often used by Administrative officers in such disputes. The group in question, he claimed, was living on land that

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621 578 423 comes under the ritual jurisdiction of the Degal tendaana, the ritual 'owner' of the land of Bunkiuk, the Golibdaana's clan. As the head of Bunkiuk and headman of Tenzugu, which includes Degal, he held political authority over all the territory under the ritual jurisdiction of the latter. Hence this strip of territory, as far as the watercourse, belonged to him. The people dwelling there were no concern of his; let them go elsewhere if they wished.

The Yinduurna'aba, a simple and inarticulate old man, who has never mastered the wiles of modern headmanship, protested vehemently. The Golibdaana's arguments were untenable. The ritual jurisdiction of tendaanas had nothing to do with the matter. In any case the Zandoya tendaana would contest the Degal tendaana's claim. Everybody knows that tendaanas acknowledge no boundaries. The group in question was a segment of Zandoya. How could they belong to any other political unit than the latter? To talk of their abandoning the land on which their ancestors had dwelt was preposterous. Indeed, the whole situation was something quite unheard of; it could never have occurred before the coming of the white man, when everyone had his acknowledged place in the society. The truth was that the Golibdaana was deliberately trying to entice his people away from him.

There the matter rested. The case was widely discussed and public opinion, except for the Golibdaana's supporters, sided unanimously with the Yinduurna'aba. Five other cases of the same kind came to my notice; and in all of them the verdict of native custom is unequivocal; social affiliation and not alleged territorial boundaries define the extent of a community. Even the new settlements, though they sprawl more widely than the old settlements and are usually surrounded by considerable tracts of uninhabited land, have no defined geographical boundaries. They can and do go on expanding.

The Concept of the Tɛŋ

621 A Tale settlement can only be identified as a unit by reference to the lineage relationships, politico-ritual ties and cleavages, and jural rights and duties, prevailing within it and between it and its neighbours. That is why we have avoided the word 'village', which conjures up the image of a neatly isolated, compact territorial unit. *Tɛŋ* (pl. *tɛs*) is the native concept denoting a settlement; but no English translation can convey its exact sense. In some ways it is reminiscent of the deme of ancient Greece, a coalescence of local association, lineage organization, common religious cult, and political solidarity. None of these factors serves to demarcate a *tɛŋ* absolutely from adjacent *tɛs*; all of them link together neighbouring *tɛs* or parts of *tɛs* as closely in respect of that one category of social relations as they unite segments of the same *tɛŋ*. A settlement is only a relatively autonomous community. One might perhaps define it as the region of maximum overlap of all the categories of social relations found among the Tallensi.

621 619 829 Native linguistic usage reflects this, for *tɛŋ* has a width of reference varying with the situation. A man beginning a discourse on marriage with '*ti tɛŋɔ, nyɛn di poŋa* . . .—In this our land, if you marry a wife . . .'

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is thinking of the country at large as a unit with respect to marriage customs. Hill Talis often describe Tongo, Zubiuŋ, and Zoo as one *tɛŋ*. They are thinking of the close bonds uniting these places in opposition to themselves. But Tongo, Zubiuŋ, and Zoo are always distinct *tɛs* to one another. Tɛnzugu is described as a single *tɛŋ* when the coherence and close interdependence of the group of clans inhabiting it are emphasized; but when their genealogical cleavages loom foremost they are designated as separate *tɛs*. In the struggle for political dominance now going on between the head of Kpata'ar and the head of Bunkiuk, the partisans of both bitterly denounce one another for 'breaking up the unity of the *tɛŋ*', but insist, at the same time, that each clan holds its *tɛŋ* in its own right and does not come under the jurisdiction of any other, according to native custom.

Underlying these variations in usage is the generic conception of *tɛŋ* as a locality defined in relation to a corporate unit of social structure, a lineage, clan, or interconnected group of clans; and the variation in the width of reference of the concept reflects the variation in the range of corporate solidarity that is effective in different situations. In war the Tɛnzugu clans all hold together; in the matter of marriage one of them might quite easily come into conflict with another. The confluence of local, lineage, and politico-ritual relations, as we have previously noted, is the keel of Tale social organization.

Tɛŋ, like all the key concepts of Tale social organization, has a ritual significance as well. It denotes the Earth in its mystical aspect, either in the generic sense or in the specific sense of a particular sacred spot and its precincts. What is a *tɛŋ* in the sphere of secular relations may be, but often is not, a *tɛŋ* in the system of religious beliefs. There are two aspects to locality as a correlate of social structure: the secular aspect and the sacred. They merge in the social organization and the social philosophy of the Tallensi, and consequently also in linguistic usage. Sometimes one aspect is the focus of a social activity, sometimes the other, sometimes both together. If a man repeats the conventional formula, '*Tɛŋ la pu sayat ziem la ni*—The Earth does not permit bloodshed', his exclusive reference to the mystical aspect of the Earth is obvious; if he says of another settlement or region, '*Ba tɛŋ la mar ki pam*—Their land has plenty of grain', he is thinking solely of the material and secular denotation of the word; if he says of Ba'ari, '*Bam tɛŋ kuob la pu dara*—In their settlement farms are not sold', his implication to anyone familiar with native beliefs is that it is a taboo of the Earth (in its mystical character) at Ba'ari to sell parcels of the earth (in its material character).

Postponing for the moment the further elucidation of these ideas, we may note their most commonplace expression in Tale custom. A settlement name is *ipso facto* the name of the clan or group of maximal lineages whose home it is. A custom arising out of the rule of clan exogamy is that of addressing a wife by an appellation indicating her clan of birth. Most often it is the clan place-name, e.g. Zubieŋa, Wakiiŋa. It may be the name of a well-known *tɔŋgban* in her natal settlement, e.g. Ba'ari women are called Saniiga, after the sacred grove of that name in Ba'ari. It may be a name indicating differences of custom and belief that distinguish her

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of politico-ritual unity and solidarity existing between the three clans. To give up land to them is, therefore, an act of virtue that creates yet closer mutual bonds.

The four sections of Tongo are not marked off from one another by territorial boundaries. But each is more or less concentrated in one locality, forming a more or less exclusive local unit, looked at from within. Members of one section are not found living right in the middle of another section. In theory they are at liberty to do so. In practice they would find it impossible, owing partly to the absence of unowned land at Tongo, but mainly to the pull of lineage loyalties. For the territorial segmentation of Tongo is a function of its precise and definitive lineage segmentation; a section is the local framework of a lineage segment. By the lineage criterion the sections are relatively autonomous units within the limits set by their common descent, but they are held together in a remarkably stable social equilibrium by their common interests. This has a counterpart in their territorial relations, which show them to have reached a stable ecological equilibrium *inter se*. The area occupied by each section is now finally fixed in location and more or less fixed in extent. Where any of them has expanded in the last three or four generations it has been chiefly at the expense of Zubiuŋ and Gbizug, not of another Tongo section. Thus, as in the case of composite clans, a social boundary exists between one section of Tongo and another. There is more intimate and regular daily intercourse, more mutual aid, closer and more binding moral, jural, and ceremonial bonds, between the members of a section, both children and adults, and between their wives, than between them and members, or wives of members, of another section. There are latent hostilities and hence a greater probability of dissension between sections than within sections. Thus they have a competitive orientation towards one another where some common interests, like the chiefship, are concerned.

Territorial Distribution and the Tɛŋ in its Mystical Aspect

As with many other Tale settlements, there is no relation between the territorial distribution of the people of Tongo and the distribution of ritual jurisdiction over the land on which they live. This was the point emphasized by the Yinduurna'ab in the case previously quoted. Tongo stretches over the ritual domains of several tɛndaanas. Guŋ proper lies on the outskirts of the Gbeog tɛndaana's *tɛŋ*; most of Puhug is on the Gbizug tɛndaana's ritual territory; Kuorəg is on land under the ritual jurisdiction of the Soog Yikpɛmdaan; Seug partly on Zoo *tɛŋ* and partly on Zubiuŋ *tɛŋ*, Dekpieŋ mostly on Zubiuŋ *tɛŋ*.

The bearing of this on the internal structure of Tongo is only indirect. The section or part of a section dwelling on a particular tɛndaana's *tɛŋ* and thus coming within the scope of his ritual powers has closer ties of neighbourliness and of affinal and cognatic kinship with that tɛndaana's clan than other sections have. Differences in the local taboos of the Earth (*tɛŋsa kiba*) observed by the people of Tongo symbolize these ties. For example, a red pot must be left on a new grave at Kuorəg, because this is a taboo of Soog *tɛŋ*. Elsewhere in Tongo this is not done. Soog elders and youths always take part in the festive phases of a Kuorəg funeral, in a

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682 sacrifices of expiation or else 'their house—i.e. line of descent—is destroyed (*ba yiri ymaarɔmɛ*)' in retribution. This is the strongest sanction against homicide among the Tallensi. Whether it is intended or accidental, whether the victim is a clansman or a stranger, and has been slain at home or abroad, homicide is a sin against the Earth and must be expiated. But it is so grave a sin that it can, in fact, never be wholly atoned for. 'You cannot finish paying' the Tallensi say. It is a sin that pursues the wrongdoer's agnatic descendants for generations.

627 682 577 The Tallensi have no juridical machinery for taking penal action against a murderer and do not exact compensation. Between clans homicide may lead to vengeance and war; within the clan it does not. In the latter case it is like a cow that has trampled on its calf and killed it, the natives say. In either case the matter is left to the arbitrament of Earth. Tallensi who have shed human blood take no pride in it. A man who can be persuaded to confide the story of how he killed another speaks of his deed as if it were forced on him by circumstances. Though homicide seems to have been an infrequent occurrence in the past, it was by no means rare; but every instance I have heard of was presented as a reprehensible action, even if it was due to provocation or done in self-help. Informants always draw the moral prescribed by Tale ethical values. So-and-so killed a man and died childless; So-and-so left only one young son; deaths pile up in such-and-such a family because their father had shot a man. In the long run, again, the reaction to sacrilege is greater respect for the moral norm and its ritual sanction.

578 682 Bloodshed and strife are symptoms and causes of deep rifts in or between human communities. The taboos against them show us the Earth as a sanction of solidarity within and between communities; and this is of particular interest in relation to the structure of the settlement. The bond between community and locality has moral implications for the natives that transcend the crude facts of spatial distribution and economic organization in which they are rooted. It is worth while tracing out these implications somewhat further from the starting-point of the individual farmer again.

The Social Framework of Production: Land Tenure

241 471 [461] 431 The farming unit among the Tallensi is the group of male agnates of a single household who usually form a nuclear lineage. Most of the plots it farms are owned by the farming unit, but some may be borrowed for a shorter or longer period and some held by gift. In the case of borrowed or gift land the farmer—distinguished as the 'owner of the farm' (*kuoraana*)—pays no rent to the owner—distinguished as 'the owner of the soil' (*tamraana*)—or tribute to a political authority. An annual gift of grain, when crops are good, is the only return he makes to the owner of the land, and this is a voluntary gesture of gratitude, not a jural obligation. Borrowed land always reverts to the owner. Theoretically gift land can also be resumed at will by the owner. In practice it often becomes the property of the recipient's lineage in the third or fourth generation after the gift, if it has been farmed continuously by that lineage. This is either because donor and recipient are usually kin, related in such a way that

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571 of closer common interests. It is related to the *yizug* as the *yizug* is to the
613 clan. At the limit it marks off the widest lineage within which there is a strong feeling of moral solidarity, a tendency for corporate unity to prevail in all circumstances, and a strong sense of undivided common interests. Beyond this range, in the zone of section relations and in that of clanship, corporate unity and solidarity tend to be a function of politico-ritual interdependence and of a balance between the competitive interests and the obligatory bonds of reciprocity of the major segments of the clan.

582 At Tongo the widest range of the *dug* in this definitive sense is a lineage
613 segment of the order of Lɛbhtiis yidɛm. This is constantly shown in economic life, as when a man invites his neighbours to a collective hoeing party or to help him build a new house. Then all the members of his widest *dug* feel bound to turn out, but not members of other *dugət* of the same section. Members of other sections will not be asked to come at all, and if one or two turn out it will be because they have personal ties of matrilateral kinship with the man issuing the invitation. It appears similarly in all other concerns of the individual which require corporate support. It is shown in the incidence of marriage prohibitions. Tallensi may not, according to strict rule, marry cognatic kin of any degree whatsoever. A man may not marry a daughter of his maternal uncle's lineage (*ahəb yiri*). But the restriction is limited to his mother's widest paternal *dug*. Thus a man whose mother belongs to Lɛbhtiis yidɛm of Tɔŋ-Puhug would not be allowed to marry another daughter of this *dug*, but he can—and innumerable cases show that this often happens—marry a daughter of another *dug* of Puhug.

613 Dissension occurs between segments of such a *dug* now and then, but
● [578] this arouses severe reprobation. Members of the *dug* feel it as a direct threat to their well-being, in a way that they do not feel conflict between such *dugət* to be; they feel it as verging on the sinful, challenging the wrath of the ancestor spirits, whereas conflict between such *dugət* or between sections, though morally reprehensible, is not mystically dangerous. Within this *dug* sexual relations between a member and the wife of
[835] one of his agnates are branded as incest, and produce a serious if not
[837] irreparable rupture in the unit; and sexual relations between classificatory brother and sister meet with strong censure. Beyond this range sexual relations between a man and the wife of a clansman are merely adulterous, a violation of clan solidarity, not a sin; and intercourse with a clan sister is not censured. These distinctions go back to one fundamental principle. The wide *dug* marks the widest range within which differences of generation and birth order are recognized for jural and ritual purposes; beyond that range these differences are not recognized. The lower limit of the *dug* corresponds to a segment of about the order of Doohraan yidɛm. This narrow *dug* frequently forms the core of an expanded family; it determines the widest field within which domestic relations prevail. Its members have differentiated person-to-person relations, based on the recognition of generation differences and proxy-parenthood, as well as corporate lineage relations. Their moral bonds are correspondingly stronger than in the wide *dug*, though of the same kind. Within this unit sexual intercourse with a sister arouses very strong reprobation, and

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sexual relations with a brother's or father's wife is a grave sin. What is more important, the solidarity of this *dug* very often rests on a common economic interest in patrimonial land, to which every male member of the lineage is a potential heir. This common interest in land gives the cohesion of the narrow *dug* a foundation upon which its moral solidarity, reinforced by the close bonds of sentiment its members have with one another, rests so firmly as to make it almost infrangible. The narrow *dug* is the widest lineage unit that always stands together like one man, right or wrong. Dissensions between its members are regarded as personal quarrels even when they follow the lines of genealogical cleavage within it. However acrimonious they may be, they are not permitted to divide the unit into mutually hostile segments.

Neither the wide nor the narrow limits of the *dug* can be fixed by a count of ascendant generations. The narrow *dug* may place its founding ancestor from four to six generations up the tree of ascent, the wide *dug* from five to seven generations back, reckoning from its present living head inclusively. It varies from clan to clan, the dimensions of the *dug* being always relative to the span and the degree of internal segmentation of the maximal lineage of which it forms a segment. As we have seen, there are maximal lineages like Gundaat which are so little segmented that they still function as wide *dugət*. Furthermore, a unit that is counted as a *dug* to-day may in a generation or two segment into two or more *dugət*. And it must be remembered also that in composite clans the section (*yisug*) is genealogically a maximal lineage, so that the *dug* constitutes a major segment of a maximal lineage.[1]

Thus the *dug* is a flexible unit and more difficult to visualize than the maximal and minimal lineages. It cannot, like them, be isolated by a morphological criterion; we identify the *dug* only when it emerges in social action.

It will simplify our analysis and save some confusion if we give a name to the *dug* in the context of the lineage structure. This is justifiable as well as expedient, for in a particular clan the *dug* has a determinate lineage span and segmentary order at any given time. We shall therefore use the terms 'medial lineage or segment' for what we have called the wide *dug*, and 'inner lineage or segment' for the *dug* in its narrow limits. We thus have a hierarchy of lineage segments: the effective minimal lineage or segment, the nuclear lineage or segment, the inner lineage or segment, the medial lineage or segment, the section or major segment, the maximal lineage.

[1] In many maximal lineages we find an intermediate grade of *dug* which is less closely integrated than the narrow *dug*, but more so than the wide *dug*. In diachronic terms it readily falls into place as a phase in the process of internal differentiation by which the narrow *dug* develops into a wide *dug*. In the set of lineages we have been considering the segment of Bakolog yidem of Lebhtiis yidem behaves like a *dug* of this sort. It has a somewhat wider span than Doobraan yidem, but a powerful contributory cause has been the personality of the *dug* head, Yinyela, whose actions have led the heads of the effective minimal lineages to reject his headship on several occasions and to stress the relative autonomy of their sub-segments in consequence.

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764 613 621 quarters) for the other three sections of Tongo, since one of the hind quarters (*gbɛr*) remains with the 'owner of the funeral', the man who is celebrating it. Thus the genealogical cleavage between Kuorəg and the rest of Tongo asserted itself. Kuorəg was treated as the *sunzəp* of the rest of Tongo and received a forequarter, the remaining hind quarter going to the other three sections. There are stories of intra-clan quarrels in the [578] old days in which Puhug, Guŋ, and Seug banded themselves together against Kuorəg.

613 621 Nevertheless, in the corporate affairs of Tongo as a whole Kuorəg emerges as a segment of the same order as the other three sections. It is one of the four co-ordinate sections (*yizugət*). A significant index of this is the fact that in all four sections nine generations of ascendants are reckoned inclusively between the present section heads (*yizug kpeem*) and Mosuor. No Tongo man, however profoundly versed in the traditions and customs of his clan, is aware of this, however. Tallensi never have occasion to work out the genealogical relations of all the minimal segments of a maximal lineage with one another.

A man's genealogical knowledge is built up gradually and piecemeal in the give and take of social life, by participation in jural, ritual, and ceremonial activities. But a man of wide experience knows the lineage ancestry of the component segments of his own *dug* as far as its founding ancestor; he will know who were the putative brothers of this man, the founding ancestors of the other major segments of his section, and their sons, the founding ancestors of large sub-segments like Nəpugzabər yidɛm, in his section; and he will know the founding ancestors of the other *yizugət* of the clan, and possibly their sons; but he will not know the whole descent of other major segments of other sections.

The nine-generation ladder of ascent found at Tongo is an index of the structural differentiation and internal equilibrium of the clan. As we have already observed, the maximal lineage (and Tongo functions as a maximal lineage, though strictly speaking it is not one) is unalterably fixed. Its major segments cannot be altered in relation to one another by further segmentation of its minimal segments. Its internal equilibrium is a function of the relations between its major segments; and the same principle applies to each major segment. This is symbolized in the tree of ascent of the people of Tongo. The structure of the maximal lineage does not permit of the recognition of more than one generation between Mosuor and his nine putative grandsons. Following the simplest possible pattern of symmetrical lineage segmentation, all Mosuor's progeny are first divided into two major (matri-)segments in accordance with the stereotyped scheme of differentiation by reference to their progenitrices; and each of these is again segmented on the same principle. Kuorəg counts as a section of the same order as Puhug, Guŋ, and Seug in the corporate affairs of the whole sub-clan, because this is necessary for the equilibrium of the sub-clan. The internal differentiation of Sɛyahəg biis has reached an advanced stage. The relative autonomy of the three sections that constitute it is now so great that they can only act together as equal partners. Each of these three sections has a corporate unity and common interests that sometimes bring it into conflict with the other two

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613 the proper structural form of the lineage around a new lineage head after
769 its temporary disturbance by the death of his predecessor. Not only do
182 all the adult members of the lineage attend, each bearing a fowl to be
782 sacrificed on behalf of himself and his segment, but representatives of other branches of the clan and very many extra-clan kin, descendants of daughters of the lineage, also attend. The pattern of the rites is the same as that of any sacrifice to the *bɔyar*, but all who participate feel them to be a specially binding sacrament. An atmosphere of great goodwill and fellowship prevails, particularly during the festive episodes of sharing out the meat and the beer.

613 In addition, the funeral of a lineage head is an event that mobilizes
764 the entire lineage structure and demonstrates the power of the religious
182 sanctions as the bulwark of his position. Special rites are performed, in many clans, to detach his social personality from the lineage shrines. And it is often in the divination sessions at the funerals of lineage heads that suppressed intra-lineage conflicts are brought into the open. The religious sanctions against intra-lineage conflict are thus set in motion and reconciliations brought about.

613 A mere catalogue of the chief privileges and responsibilities of the head of lineage of a high order is sufficient to indicate his social role as chief representative of the lineage in relation to other lineages and to the ancestors. No ceremonial or jural transaction in which the lineage is concerned as a whole can take place without the presence of the lineage head or his deputy. When the carcass of an animal slaughtered for ritual or ceremonial purposes is divided up, the best part of the portion allotted to a particular lineage is reserved for the *kpeem*. When a member of the
[224] lineage kills an animal in the hunt, one hind leg and sometimes the skin are the perquisites of the lineage head (of the medial or maximal lineage), and the skull and horns are deposited with him. In these and similar situations the *kpeem's* privileges are regarded as a means of apprising the
[769] ancestors of the event and winning their blessings. The meat he gets, for instance, is 'set out for the ancestor spirits (*zien kpiim*)' before it is consumed.

613 Certain sacrifices to the lineage ancestors are obligatory on every man
782 of advanced years. They are both a sign of gratitude to the ancestors
769 and a symbol of the common interest of the whole lineage in the giver's welfare and possessions. Thus a man must sacrifice one of the cows he receives for his eldest daughter's bride-price to the lineage *bɔyar* of his medial lineage; and the lineage head receives a hind leg and the skin as well as other parts of the animal. Similarly if a man wishes to set up a new ancestor shrine he must first inform his lineage ancestors by means of a sacrifice to the *bɔyar*. Hence Tallensi say that one of the advantages of being the head of a medial or maximal lineage is that there is always meat in the house. But this privilege, they add, is a compensation for the responsibilities of lineage headship. Not the least of these is the *kpeem's* duty to make frequent sacrifices to the ancestors in order to preserve their goodwill towards the lineage.

613 All interlineage jural and ritual transactions take place formally
578 through the lineage heads. Thus if a man seduces the wife of a member
627

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of another medial or maximal lineage of his own or a closely allied clan, hostility between the two units is aroused and their normal relations are thrown out of gear. But usually steps are very quickly taken to set matters right. Either the head of the wronged lineage sends to protest to the head of the seducer's lineage, and the latter, backed by the lineage elders, makes the seducer confess and agree to apologize, or else the culprit himself, aware that public opinion would reprove his action, begs the head of his nuclear lineage to get the head of their medial or maximal lineage to intercede on his behalf with the head of the wronged lineage. It is at the homestead of the latter that the rites of reconciliation are performed by representatives of the two lineages. This is typical of inter-lineage jural relations.

A woman who commits adultery exposes her husband and children to mystical dangers. Among Namoos she is haled to the homestead of the head of her husband's medial lineage and subjected to the ordeal of entering the gateway (*zanɔr*). If she confesses she may enter safely. If not, the lineage ancestors will cause her to get ill if she enters the gateway. This is a very powerful sanction of marital fidelity among women and is one reason why adultery is not very common. Tallensi sum up the role of the lineage head in the sentence, 'All our (lineage) affairs are conducted at the gateway of our lineage head's homestead (i.e. the lineage *zanɔr*—cf. p. 208) (*Ti ycla hama maana ti kpeem yir zanɔne*)'.

In the old days the men of a medial lineage all assembled at the *kpeem's* homestead before going out to fight. There they all took part in sacrifices to the ancestors and 'ate (*di*)' protective medicine to fortify themselves against the enemy's arrows. Nowadays they do the same before setting out on a communal hunting expedition, for there are many dangers to be faced—accidental arrow wounds, fire, and wild beasts. This is the service for which the *kpeem* is rewarded when he is given a hind leg of every animal slain by the sons of the lineage.

The *kpeem's* functions are most conspicuous in relation to the wives and children of the lineage, for they stand for the greatest common interest of the lineages. It is the reproductive powers of the wives and the existence of children that secure the perpetuation of the lineage and the immortality of the ancestors. The handling of a woman who commits adultery illustrates this. Similarly the lineage elders must be informed of, and the lineage head give his formal consent to, the re-marriage of a widow of any member of the lineage. A widow is in theory entitled to reject a husband chosen for her by her late husband's nuclear lineage and to choose any member of his clan of the right generation. If she does this she must get the consent of the head of his medial lineage and this is binding on the whole medial lineage. Her late husband's nuclear lineage cannot then object to her marrying out of that lineage.

The head of a medial or maximal lineage comes into the formalities of marriage for every member, man or woman, of the lineage, in his capacity as its chief representative in interlineage jural relations. The right to dispose of a girl in marriage is vested in her guardian the head of her nuclear lineage. It is he who receives and owns the bride-

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to it; and nowadays the natives lay more stress on this than on the ancient glory of success in war. There was the mystical danger of reprisals from the spirit of one's victim (*gil*) following one all one's life. There was the hate created in the dead man's kin, agnates and extra-clan kin, including probably some of one's own clansmen or clansmen's wives. At best they might try to injure one by means of bad medicine; at worst it meant that one could never take part in a sacrifice or meal in which they shared. If one did, their hidden hatred had a mystical power to kill one. Nor did a man who had excelled in war derive any social, economic, or political advantage from it. It did not add to his wealth or give him more influence in the councils of the community. Soon even the fame of his prowess became dim, for it is bad form to talk publicly, during his lifetime, about the deeds of a man who has slain an enemy. It 'whitens (*pɛlɛg*)' him—that is, exposes him to the wrath of his victim's spirit which resents public comment on his defeat. A great fighter is praised in dirges and speeches after his death. But in the past, as now, it was the good farmer and not the bold fighter who was held up as the ideal of a worthwhile life.

Tallensi speak of fighting with weapons, for whatever reason, as one of the necessary evils of the old days. They look back without regrets on the passing of warfare. They regard the shedding of human blood, even in self-defence or in justifiable anger, as sinful. To kill a man in war was not homicide; one did not have to make heavy expiatory sacrifices to the Earth for it, yet one could never get rid of the blood taint (*ziem*). In 1936 two of the oldest men I knew died. There was much whispered talk about them. People pointed out that they had died in utter penury, lacking even a sheep for their grave-clout. Yet at different times in their long lives they had owned many cattle and had had several wives. Worse still, they had died leaving only one or two young children, the survivors of large families. Their lives had been tragically futile, by Tale standards. And why? Because they had both been redoubtable fighters in their young days; they had killed men in war; and this was the nemesis. All the animals they had sacrificed in expiation had been in vain, in the long run.

The most heinous sin of all was to instigate (*sa*) a war. It did not matter if the man had justice on his side. In the long run he paid for his sin with sickness and death, and the tale of misfortune might follow his descendants in the male line for generations. When Siiyɛlib died, the diviner consulted to find out the cause of his death revealed an unexampled story of misfortune going back twenty-five years. One after another, Siiyɛlib's wives and children had died; rinderpest had wiped out his cattle; and at last he himself had died without a son to mourn him and in extreme poverty. All this went back to his part in the Tong Hills Expedition of 1910–11, of which, the natives believe, he had been one of the prime instigators.

Before the arrival of the British the Tallensi, in common with their neighbours, had no judicial system. This was in keeping with their lack of a centralized form of government. As far as there was a 'rule of law'—that is, general observance of rights and obligations in property relations, in person-to-person relations, in intra- and inter-group relations subject

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to enforcement by explicit or implicit sanctions—it prevailed only within the clan or a cluster of closely interrelated clans, or between individual kinsfolk of different clans. Even so, every line of social cleavage was a source of weakness to the sanctions of right. It needed very little temptation or provocation for men of different clans or maximal lineages, however close the links between their respective groups, to lay violent hands on one another's property, person, or dependants. There was a general atmosphere of non-cognizance of rights *as such*. Times of crisis, such as famine, brought about a relapse into lawlessness.

In consequence the ultimate sanction of jural rights outside the clan was self-help. If a man could not recover a wife who had been abducted or a bride-price debt owing to him through the intermediation of the elders of his clan and those of the abductor's or debtor's clan, he had the right to use self-help and make a raid on the cattle of the offender's clan. This was legitimate and reprisals were not allowed. If the offender were to attempt any, his clansmen would not support him. But these raids might result in an armed clash with the cattle herds. Men might be killed; and then war flared up.

But raiding (*yɔk*), as a measure of self-help, in itself was not an act of war. It led to war if men were killed, but not if there were no bloodshed. Sometimes, even if a raid ended in an affray and men were killed, a reconciliation was made before an interclan fight could develop. The Tallensi distinguished precisely between raiding, as a method of self-help which they considered a legitimate jural device for redressing a wrong, and warfare. The custom of raiding reinforced warfare because it provided occasions for armed clashes and because of the habit of mind that lay behind it. Though this habit ran counter to the moral repugnance of the Tallensi to shedding human blood, it tolerated the use of violence as the proper ultimate means of asserting one's rights. This attitude still survives, to some extent. Men still carry their weapons when they go on a journey. Disputes over wives or unpaid debts sometimes bring the parties to the brink of a sanguinary fight. One reason why these fights are suppressed by the natives themselves before they become serious is the fear of the white man with his armed police in the background. Another and more powerful reason is the system of chiefs' tribunals and District Commissioners' courts imposed by the British. This judicial system has become an established part of native life. It has provided an effectively sanctioned alternative to self-help and made the latter obsolete (cf. p. 13). But in the past the attitude of mind we have described led the natives to think of warfare in its corporate aspect as a mechanism for redressing wrongs that could not otherwise be put right. Considering their lack of a single, all-embracing government and their segmentary social structure, it was inevitable that conflicts should often arise that could only be settled by fighting.[1]

[1] In this connexion it is worth noting that the Tallensi have only one term, *salor*, for every kind of fighting, from a quarrel between co-wives to a war. But, in addition, war was distinguished by referring to it euphemistically as 'arrows' (*peema*). Thus a war is identified as 'the arrows of so-and-so', after its chief instigator.

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Forty years ago, when no man ventured outside the bounds of his own settlement without weapons, when it was a common thing for a little group of armed men to raid the cattle of another clan in settlement of a debt, when a passing member of a different clan could be set upon and robbed, if he was unprotected, a trivial argument might lead to blows in the twinkling of an eye. Thus many fights occurred between clans and lineages. But general wars, involving all the Tallensi, were less frequent. Only three seem to have taken place in the last three or four generations.

These general wars always took place between Tale clans or between some Tale clans and neighbouring non-Tale clans. The Tallensi never united for defence or offence against other 'tribes'. Wars began between adjacent clans which were not united by direct or indirect ties of clanship, and then spread by mobilizing the opposing forces along the lines of structural interconnexions which we have described. This was a basic feature of warfare. Tongo could not fight Gorogo directly, for to get at the men of Gorogo the Tongo warriors would have to cross the hostile territory of Gbeog and Wakii. Tenzugu could only fight Tongo if Wakii and Soog gave their men passage and took their side. A general war therefore inevitably followed the line of major cleavage between the Namoos and non-Namoos. An example will show how this occurred.

Some fifty years ago a quarrel between a Yayazuor man and a Kpatia man led to a general war. It began in the way many of those wars did, with an argument about a wife. There was dancing at Yayazuor one night and a Kpatia man who was present was accused of trying to abduct the wife of a Yayazuor man. Next day one of the annual communal game drives took place. A bush turkey was brought down and both a Yayazuor man and a Kpatia man claimed it. Such disputes were and still are common at these big game drives, when it is often difficult to determine whose club or arrow inflicted the death blow on an animal. In the circumstances, with the competitive spirit at its highest pitch, with men standing beside their clansmen with weapons in hand, with the excitement of the chase as a stimulus, words soon led to blows. Besides, the squabble of the previous evening over the woman was still rankling. So fighting broke out between the men of Yayazuor and the men of Kpatia.

Next morning the alarum was raised at both settlements. Ba'ari at once came out to help its *nuuzɔ* the Yayazuor men. Namɔyalug and Sie rallied to the side of their fellow Namoos at Kpatia. Yamɔlɔg followed suit. Tongo, to assist Sie and Yamɔlɔg, attacked Ba'ari. Gbeog then attacked Tongo to help Ba'ari; Wakii and Soog, followed shortly by Tenzugu, came out to support their kin, the Gbeog people; Zoo immediately set out against the Hill Talis in support of Tongo, and Zubiuŋ, hitherto neutral, followed suit. Then Gorogo came to the help of Gbeog; and Sii and Yinduuri, mindful of their ties with Tongo through the chiefship of Sii, attacked Gorogo from the rear. All this happened in two or three days. Then the Gbizug and Wakii tendaanas, armed with their ritual peacemaking powers, intervened and compelled the combatants to lay down arms. Tongo and Wakii made peace and the news was broadcast from clan to clan. Once two important representative clans made peace thus, all the others had to stop fighting. The ties of clanship

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which brought a particular unit into the fight compelled it also to retire when its allied clan made peace.

The fighting lasted only a few days, but many men were killed, the old men say, and much grain and live-stock destroyed. The Namoos suffered badly. So the following year, at the usual time for fighting, just before the commencement of the sowing season, while the granaries were still full, the then Chief of Tongo 'set up arrows (*sa peema*)'[1] again to revenge their defeat. Thus the 'debt was cancelled (*samər lɛrigya*)'.

In these wars the major cleavage of Tale society came into operation in its most acute form, and they give us a particularly clear insight into its meaning. The major cleavage between Namoos and non-Namoos is not an insuperable barrier like that which separates castes or races in some societies. It should rather be regarded as the coping-stone of the whole complex system of differentiation and integration of corporate units in Tale society by means of the structural ties and cleavages inherent in it.

Wars, among the Tallensi, were not acts of political policy, as we understand it. They were not fought for the sake of acquiring territory, of extending the authority of one group over another, of taking captives, or of pillage. Indeed pillage to enrich oneself was strictly tabooed. Tale wars were not even calculated acts of aggression. They usually arose out of impulsive acts of retaliation by individuals or small groups of clan brothers for attacks, as often as not unpremeditated, on their kin, their property, or their self-regard. If the parties involved in the quarrel belonged to clans on opposite sides of the major cleavage, the whole system of clanship and ritual ties might be swung into activity and the result would be a general war. It could not be otherwise, given the native system of genealogical relationships and the sentiments connected therewith.

The structure of Tale society as a dynamically integrated social region is incompatible with warfare directed towards political or economic domination. One consequence of their segmentary social structure was that they had no regular military organization. In war all the able-bodied men turned out carrying their bows and quivers of poisoned arrows, their adzes, and other weapons, and hung around with medicines, exactly as they do to-day to go hunting. All the fighting men of a clan, the men of each major segment forming a separate contingent, went out in a mob to meet the enemy at the outskirts of the settlement. Their women folk, many of whom were daughters of the enemy clans, carried water to them, dragged away casualties, and urged on the fighters with their shrill, trilling *kpɛlɔmɔt* cries. The fighting consisted of uncoordinated sorties and skirmishes by individuals or small parties, without fixed leadership and with no other purpose than to rout the enemy and thus reassert the flouted rights or restore the injured pride of the victors. Their principal weapon, a bow strung with a slither of bamboo firing an unfeathered poisoned arrow, made it necessary for a man to get within about 50 yards

[1] A clan-head could initiate a just war of revenge, with the consent of all the clan elders, and after consulting a diviner, in theory without incurring mystical blood-guilt. And yet, in after years, misfortunes falling on his descendants might be ascribed to this act.

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182 lineal kin of both parties. One of the best-remembered fights of this
721 kind broke out between Gorogo and Wakii in the very year that the British appeared on the scene of Tale life. It occurred in circumstances that made it a mystical calamity which these two clans are still expiating.

796 On the day that marks the climax of the *Golib* Festival, all the Talis
535 and thousands of non-Talis from the rest of the country congregate on
292 the summit of the Tong Hills for a great ritual dance. It is in the main a dance of the men of the Hill Talis clans. They come up and dance in clan contingents, wearing festive garb and carrying their weapons. The tumult is indescribable. The throngs of spectators, men, women, and children, milling backwards and forwards, the rhythmic thud of stamping feet, the harsh lilt of the choruses pulsating against the babel of the crowd, the shimmer of sweating bodies and gaudy attire, the ritual officers in their finest skins and black caps, the swift, snake-like convolutions of the dancers, all this makes a scene of thrilling excitement. The taut bodies and tense expression of the dancers show that they are keyed up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; and as they dance in separate clan contingents, an intense feeling of clan unity and pride is created in each group.

X 618 Each clan contingent accompanies its dancing with choruses for which
535 new verses on topical themes are made every year. And the point of
533 most of these songs is the superiority of that particular clan to all other
508 people. There is a strong feeling of rivalry between the various clan contingents, which grows keener and keener as the day advances. The old men say that careful watch must always be kept lest any of the young
[728] men start fighting. For though there is a ritual truce on all forms of strife throughout Taleland during *Golib*, passions are easily inflamed during the dances.

721 These were the circumstances in which the fight between Gorogo and
535 Wakii took place. The two contingents were dancing near each other. The Gorogo men sang, defiantly, '(We are like) the adder, woo! If others wish to, let them tread on its tail and see'. The Wakii contingent flung back '(We are) a beehive, woo! If others wish to, let them touch us and see'. The dancing became more furious and the two groups drew nearer and nearer each other. And then, suddenly, they clashed. In the mêlée several men were killed and many wounded before the tendaanas and men of other clans could separate them.

683 Bloodshed during *Golib* is a dreadful sacrilege; bloodshed on Tenzugu
682 on the day of the most important ceremonies and during the dancing is
783 a religious enormity that cannot be compared to anything else in the Tale calendar of sins. The people of Gorogo and Wakii atoned for their sacrilege by the sacrifice of many cattle and sheep to the Earth, but they have not yet freed themselves of its consequences. The Earth still exacts the toll of death after death from the sons and grandsons of the original sinners. No reprisals were taken by either clan and their relations with each other were not affected by this fight.

578 Such fights could not develop into general wars because they took place between clans that are closely linked together by ties of clanship or ritual collaboration, or are connected through an intercalary unit that

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578 acts as peacemaker. But in principle they go back to the same facts as general wars, the structural differentiation of maximal lineages and clans.

We can see that Tale wars were in fact a kind of intestine feud within a single homogeneous social region, rather than wars in our sense. We have refrained from calling them feuds because they were usually short and sharp and never led to a long series of mutual reprisals. If one war was followed a year later by a war of revenge, as in the instance given in this chapter, that was the end of it. One might even describe them as a [669] kind of civil war, since they sprang from the cleavages inherent in the social structure, particularly the cleavage between Namoos and non-Namoos. They served to keep these cleavages alive, to defend the corporate unity of the maximal lineage and clan and the corporate rights associated with it, against other like units. They were, at bottom, a mechanism for resolving tensions within the society[1] and not an instrument of political action against outsiders. The ever-present possibility of war was a potent factor in maintaining the segmentary structure of the society. It achieved this by enhancing to the utmost both aspects of the social differentiation of maximal lineages and clans—the demarcation of unit from unit by genealogical and local criteria, and the corporate solidarity of each unit in its own right. However much the Tallensi 578 deplored bloodshed among them, as in civilized nations, in warfare all 186 personal interests were subordinated to the common interest of the clan or maximal lineage, whether its cause was just or not. All normal activities were suspended and every man, woman, and adolescent child took some part in the fighting or in caring for the wants of the fighters. Clan patriotism reached a pitch of fervour which no other occasion could evoke. It was felt as passionately by the women and girls carrying water to the fighters and dragging the wounded away, and by the old men at home who tended the wounded and went around from shrine to shrine making sacrifices to the ancestors, as by the fighting men. Something of this spirit comes out to-day in the inaugural ceremonies of an important elder's funeral, when the whole clan turns out for a pageant mimicking the activities of war.

578 Yet there was never any danger of wars or smaller fights breaking the 182 society up into a number of anarchic fragments. They were inhibited from doing so by the countervailing influence of the strong social ties between traditionally hostile groups. Indeed their very occurrence [728] stimulated the reassertion of the overriding common interests of the society and the reaffirmation of the bonds of unity between the factions. In a war between Namoos and non-Namoos peace had to be made quickly and the *status quo ante* restored because the two groups are so closely interconnected by ties of marriage and kinship that the majority of members of one group have bonds of duty, affection, and mutual interest with members of the other; because they are such close neighbours; above all, because they are bound together by ties of politico-

[1] These tensions persist, though they are kept well in check by fear of the British Administration. The new judicial system provides a safety valve to some extent; but they break through, chiefly in the form of political intrigue, as we shall see in the next section.

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ritual collaboration in a series of complementary relations the proper maintenance of which they believe to be indispensable for their common welfare. This is the basis of the ritual sanctions against instigating war and shedding blood and of the moral repugnance associated with them. A war temporarily upset the equilibrium of Tale society; it could not destroy it.

The social system of the Tallensi, in its widest extent, is held together by its religious superstructure. Its unity is none the less real because it appears only on the highest plane of common religious values known to the natives. As we have noted, the complementary politico-ritual offices of the chiefship, which is typically a Namoo office, and the tendaanaship, typically an office found amongst non-Namoos, constitute the focus of the institutions that maintain this unity; and the annual cycle of the Great Festivals are at once the chief sanction and the supreme expression of it. The coming of the white man has made very little difference to the way these institutions operate in relation to the fundamental structure of Tale society. They continue to be the crowning mechanism of equilibrium in Tale society, because its segmentary social structure has kept its traditional form and vitality. It is possible, though not demonstrable, that only a strong and universally accepted religious sanction could hold such a society together. In practice the equilibrium is achieved by the distribution of mutually complementary offices among the segments of the society, all of which are essential for the performance of definite ritual duties.

It is a significant index of the type of social system presented by the Tallensi that the widest range of social solidarity found among them is evoked by their Great Festivals. Great stress is laid on the ritually sanctioned truce to all fighting or discord between clans or maximal lineages during the Festivals. That is why marriages are forbidden during the *Gəlib* Festival. The Festival Cycle begins with the Harvest Festivals. These are celebrated by single clans or groups of linked maximal lineages independently of one another and serve to enhance the sense of clan and lineage solidarity. The climax is the *Gəlib* Festival, immediately before the rains. This gives ritual sanction and dramatic expression to the idea of the close-knit interdependence of all the Tallensi with one another. Its reiterated themes are the common interests of all the Tallensi—food, peace, and fecundity—which must be achieved if they are to survive, and the supreme common values—the cult of the ancestors and of the Earth—by which the whole of Tale social life is steered. The lesson of *Gəlib*, to the Tallensi, is that men cannot realize their greatest common interests or pursue their greatest common purposes in mutual enmity. *Gəlib* is the most powerful counterweight to war and to the tendency of each clan and maximal lineage to set its own corporate interests above the common interest of the whole society. It is noteworthy that the Great Festivals do not presuppose the suspension of the primary loyalties of the segments that make up Tale society. They represent a synthesis, for the time being, of these primary loyalties—a synthesis that is possible only by giving full scope to the feeling of clan and maximal lineage unity and singularity in each group. *Gəlib* emphasizes the mutual dependence of Namoos and Talis, but it does this by simultaneously enhancing the

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feeling of politico-ritual difference between them. It is the same within each cluster. The elders inaugurate the Festival season with many sacrifices asking the ancestors and the Earth to prevent fighting from breaking out between the young men, in spite of the truce, and they always depute a number of reliable young men to keep a good look-out during the dances lest unruly spirits stir up trouble. Thus the greater solidarity is built up on the lesser solidarities; and this principle applies throughout the social system.

The rhythm of Tale social life is contained within an annual cycle. It swings between two poles. For most of the year the sectional interests of lineage and clan dominate the pattern of collective life. But for one month the greater solidarity of the whole society prevails.

In relation to the mechanisms of unity and equilibrium Tale warfare appears as a negative sanction that reinforces their effects. It was the obverse of these mechanisms, the polar opposite of the idea of unity, arising out of the very same balance of social forces that makes that unity possible. Both in time and at a given time the equilibrium of Tale political life swung (and still swings) between two poles: on the one hand, the extraordinarily consistent and precise differentiation of social segments; on the other, the strong sense of unity created by the religious bonds of the society.

War or, more often, the threat of war was the most drastic means of bringing to a head and working off the frictions that inevitably arose from the action of the principle of social differentiation of corporate units; its effect, however, was to bring the opposite principle into action, and thus it served to strengthen the forces of social cohesion in the society at large.

Equilibrium and Solidarity within the Clan and Lineage

The pattern of solidarity we have been discussing applies at all levels of Tale social structure. Tensions similar to those we have discerned in the corporate relations between clans underlie corporate relations within clans and maximal lineages. Centrifugal tendencies and centripetal tendencies pull against one another. Conflicts within corporate units tend to follow the lines of lineage and local segmentation. They take the form of opposition between the solidarity of the segment and the wider solidarity of the lineage or clan. And the greater the relative autonomy of the segment, the deeper does the conflict tend to be. Hence conflicts in a composite clan tend to go deeper than conflicts in a genealogically unitary group such as a sub-clan of Mosuor biis. But, as in the social structure at large, the bonds of common interest, of mutual dependence in ritual and secular matters, and of local unity tend to prevail in the long run. However deep a breach may be, the dissidents never repudiate membership of the larger unit, for this would be tantamount to repudiating the ancestors. The ancestor cult is the supreme sanction of lineage and clan solidarity. Thus, at the best, conflicts are resolved by the eventual restoration of the *status quo ante*. At the worst, a new balance is struck between the centrifugal tendencies of lineage segmentation and the centripetal emphasis of the lineage structure as a whole backed by the ancestor cult. It is in this way that the structure of a lineage or clan is

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adapted by stages to changes in its internal composition due to the passage of time or the cumulative effects of social and economic pressure, without bursting its form.

Solidarity within the clan or the lineage is governed by the field principle. It is a function of the situation; and it is a function, also, of the segmentary relationship of each unit involved to other like units, to more inclusive units, and to the whole social structure. The complex of thought, feeling, action, and expression we designate as the sentiment of solidarity is evoked in different degrees in accordance with the sector of the social structure engaged. It reflects the range of common interests evoked in the situation and the strength of the common values.

Within the clan, or any segment of it, the sentiment of solidarity is a constant motive of conduct and a regular criterion by which the individual evaluates the behaviour of others. We have seen how it grows out of the lifelong association of lineage kin in daily life. Hence a Talən identifies himself by reference to his clan settlement and the segment of his clan to which he belongs. He speaks of his clansmen as 'our folk (*ti yidɛm*)' and of their wives and children as 'our wives (*ti pɔyaba*)' and 'our children (*ti biis*)'. In the old days of warfare, as in market brawls or hunting expeditions to-day, a Talən never stops to question the rights or wrongs of an argument in which a clansman of his is involved with a non-clansman, or a close agnate with a distant agnate. He immediately takes his clansman's or close agnate's part.

The unity of a clan or a lineage is not only a vital fact of experience for its members but the principal concept by which other corporate groups define it in jural, political, and ritual relations. Thus in the old days a creditor could raid the live-stock of any clansman of his debtor, but not those of a neighbour of his debtor who belonged to a different clan. In the latter case a reprisal raid was the penalty. In the former case the victim of the raid could demand restitution from his clansman, the original debtor; and I know of men who pawned a child or sold him into slavery in order to find the means of repaying a clansman who had been raided, rather than let the affair become a source of conflict in the clan. This is a good illustration, incidentally, of the statement previously made that collective responsibility is not a principle of Tale jural relations. It is not the clan but the debtor himself who is responsible for his debt. Self-help is a technique for putting pressure on a debtor through the mechanisms of clan and lineage cohesion.

The same principle appears in the abduction of wives of distant unrelated clans. Thus Pal of Zubiuŋ abducted the wife of a Yinduuri man. He claimed that this was merely 'cancelling a debt (*lerəg samər*)'. Some years earlier a distant clansman of the Yinduuri man had abducted the wife of one of Pal's clansmen and this 'debt' had now been cancelled. The point is, not that all Yinduuri was held responsible for the original wrong, but that every wife is a gain to the clan as a whole and the loss of a wife is a loss to the clan as a whole. If a clan wishes to avoid reprisals such as those taken by Pal, men of the clan must not countenance the abduction of wives by any of their fellows. It is like the avenging of a clansman's death at the hands of men of another clan in the old days.

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682 Some sixty years ago a Tamboog man was killed by a group of Yaməlɔg
x618 men with whom he quarrelled at a dance. Two or three years later a couple of Tamboog men met a Yaməlɔg man alone in the bush and slew him in revenge. The Yaməlɔg people understood that this was a case of 'wiping out a debt' and the matter was regarded as closed.

x618 The principle of representative status enhances the sense of lineage or
431 clan solidarity. We have seen how, in ceremonial situations, any member of a lineage or clan is regarded as representing the whole unit. I have often seen men refuse gifts of meat or food at ceremonies because these had no precedent and accepting them would be equivalent to committing their lineage or clan to reciprocate in the same way at some future time.

613 Co-operation in ceremonies, especially in funerals, brings to light the
764 institutional machinery of lineage and clan solidarity. Its basis is the
x618 distribution of duties and privileges among the different segments of the lineage or clan concerned in the situation, in accordance with their segmentary relationship to the group principally affected. Thus in funerals, in accordance with the maxim 'Brother lineages take charge of one's affairs (*nunzɔp m-maan yɛla*)', members of a close brother lineage of the bereaved lineage supervise the ceremonies. In addition, all the segments of the maximal lineage or clan concerned send prescribed food contributions and receive prescribed shares of beer, meat, and food distributed during the ceremonies. Funerals are important because the death of a person may entail a rearrangement of social relations in a segment and this is a matter of common interest to the whole clan.

x618 These obligatory reciprocal services and privileges constantly remind the individual of his dependence on his clansmen for the proper management of the critical events of his life. In consequence the obligation of reciprocity is strongly felt, in both secular and ritual matters, the strength of the feeling being relative to the lineage relationship of the parties. When a man invites a collective hoeing party (*pooh kpa'arɔp*) it is always co-members of his medial lineage who turn up in largest force. Distant clansmen only come if they have ties of personal matrilateral kinship with him. And the motive usually given for responding to such an invitation is 'To-morrow I may need the help of a hoeing party'. Public opinion is critical of those who do not conform to the conventions of mutual assistance, and when they find themselves compelled to call for assistance in collective hoeing or housebuilding or some similar activity, they are left in the lurch.

578 Intra-clan disputes involving lineages of a higher order than the
618 nuclear lineage very rarely arise over economic affairs—that is, in effect, over the ownership of land or live-stock. Disputes in higher order lineages arise over the inheritance of widows or marriage with a woman who was formerly the wife of a member of a different segment of the clan. Members of the deceased husband's medial lineage feel they have a prior claim to a widow's hand and sometimes object to her marrying a man of a different branch of the clan. And if a marriage is dissolved, no matter what the reason may be, it is regarded as a grave breach of clan solidarity for any other member of the husband's clan to take her to wife. It arouses suspicion of collusion between the woman and the second

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husband. In both types of case conflicts reflect the importance of wives as a common interest of the lineage and clan.

But the chief source of intra-clan discord is rival claims to priority in the exercise of rights of a politico-ritual nature, which are generally vested in lineages and are associated with the dominant values of the society. The conflict may be precipitated by a clash of personalities. But very often the underlying pressure comes from a change in the internal constitution of the lineage that has been taking place gradually with the passage of the generations and is not yet recognized. In the course of two or three generations an inner lineage may ramify so widely that its members claim the status of a medial lineage when it comes to succeeding to the headship of a more inclusive lineage, and this claim may be resisted by the other branches of the more inclusive lineage. It is such conflicts that eventually get resolved by the setting up of a new equilibrium in which the change is recognized by the redistribution of reciprocal rights and obligations. Intra-clan discord is often due to the universal human propensity to resist infringements of one's recognized social rights or one's self-regard; or to the complementary tendency for individuals to assert themselves by aggressive action. But it is probably more often a phase in the structural development of a lineage or clan, a symptom of a hitherto unrecognized internal change in its structure. This does not make the conflict less acute or disturbing while it lasts; but it does mean that there are always social forces at work that counteract the conflict even while it is going on and will prevent it from disrupting the corporate group entirely.

These processes are so characteristic of the social system of the Tallensi that they could be illustrated from the contemporary history of any clan or maximal lineage. Tallensi say that intra-clan conflicts have increased since the coming of the white man. They maintain that the suppression of warfare and of self-help, and the new freedom of movement, have greatly diminished lineage and clan solidarity. People no longer need the help of their kinsmen as much as they used to. But careful inquiry shows that intra-clan discord was as common forty or fifty years ago as to-day and sometimes more violent. Many of the most deep-seated and intractable antagonisms within and between lineages or clans to-day go back to conflicts that began fifty or sixty years ago.

A typical instance is the dispute between the Gbizug tendaana and the Gbeog tendaana which began with the immediate predecessors of the present tendaanas. The dispute concerns the degree of autonomy to which the Gbeog tendaana is entitled in his ritual jurisdiction over the *tey* of Gbeog (see p. 87). He claims full autonomy. The Gbizug tendaana as 'elder brother' (*bier*) in ritual status of the Gbeog tendaana, and head of the senior maximal lineage of the clan, citing ancient custom, claims to have an over-right over the Gbeog tendaana. He says that the Gbeog tendaana is simply his deputy and should therefore render to him the perquisites that a tendaana receives for the performance of such ritual services as marking out graves. The men of Gbizug are unreservedly on the side of their lineage head. The men of Gbeog are torn between their loyalty to their maximal lineage and the greater solidarity

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of the clan. They regularly attend sacrifices and ceremonies at Gbizug as their forefathers did, and continue to perform the duties and accept the privileges of close *sunzɔp* of Gbizug. But they are uneasy, the more so as the Gbizug tɛndaana never loses an opportunity of haranguing them, at ceremonies, about the disgraceful conduct of their tɛndaana. For a short while the inescapable demands of ritual collaboration brought the two tɛndaanas together again, when the Gbeog tɛndaana had to perform the principal rites at the installation of the new Gbizug tɛndaana. But soon afterwards their dispute revived again. It is, as elders of related clans declared, an insoluble dispute. Both tɛndaanas are right, they say. The Gbizug tɛndaana is going by 'what used to be (*dɛn daa a siem*)', the Gbeog tɛndaana by 'what is now (*dɛn a siem zinala*)'. It is a problem of adjusting the equilibrium of the clan to changes in the segmentary relationship of its component lineages. One day, it is said, there will be a Gbizug tɛndaana who will accept the present position. Then the two tɛndaanas will become reconciled and the quarrel will cease.

As this story shows, intra-clan conflicts dislocate the routine of co-operation and reciprocity and lead to anomalies in customary modes of conduct. Yinyɛla's refusal to co-operate in the affairs of Tɔŋ-Puhug led to many embarrassing situations; as when two men who were not members of Yinyɛla's segment came to assist his (classificatory) grandson with his house-building, in accordance with normal custom, and were publicly rebuked for this by the head of their family. Dislocation of the normal scheme of ritual and ceremonial co-operation in the ancestor cult and in public ceremonies such as funerals is particularly disturbing. It serves to focus attention on the interpretation of actions that damage lineage solidarity as offences against the ancestors. Public opinion, the point of view of the majority, which always favours the greater solidarity as the source of stability and normality in corporate relations, becomes critical. In due time one of the opponents of the dispute dies; and according to custom the mystical cause of his death is sought by divination. The technique and social setting of the divining session make it a reflection of public sentiment. The diviner brings the simmering conflict in the lineage into the open and relates the death to it. His verdict, coming ostensibly from the ancestors, concludes with commands from them to put the situation right by means of sacrifices and a ritual reconciliation. This is the commonest way in which the ancestor cult emerges as a sanction of reintegration in the lineage or clan. But it presupposes the existence of ritual ties and common ritual obligations among lineage and clan kin; and it comes as the culmination of a social reaction to the anomalies arising from intra-clan conflicts.

We have space only for one illustrative case history. Many years ago Gbalɔg of Tɔŋ-Puhug insulted the then Chief of Tongo. The chief pronounced a curse on him; and rather than apologize Gbalɔg went to settle in one of the peripheral settlements taking his younger sons with him. His oldest son, Naŋgbeog, dissociating himself from his father, stayed behind at Tongo. Years passed. There was a new Chief of Tongo. Yet Gbalɔg remained unrepentant. In 1937 he died, a very old man, boasting that after all he had got the better of the chiefs of Tongo. But the diviner revealed that the ancestors had caused him to die because of

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his quarrel with the chief of his clan. The diviner added that the ancestors demanded that Gbalɔg should be exhumed and re-buried at Tongo among his forefathers. This meant that Gbalɔg's sons should beg the Chief of Tongo's pardon and offer expiatory sacrifices to the clan ancestors. But Gbalɔg's second son, who had lived with him, scornfully refused to do this, and added the further sin of withholding from his older brother Naŋgbeog, the legitimate heir, the property their father had left. There was scathing criticism of his behaviour at Tongo but nothing could be done about it. There are no jural sanctions compelling a man to abide by custom in cases of this kind; and as the Tallensi often say, men do not fear to defy even the ancestor spirits, when their property or power is at stake.

But shortly afterwards the second son suddenly became ill and died. At once everybody drew the obvious moral: he had incurred the wrath of the ancestors for his double sin. And when the cause of his death was sought by divination public opinion was confirmed. Naŋgbeog, now the recognized heir, at once got some elders to plead with the chief on his behalf and the curse was withdrawn. Naŋgbeog gave a young bull and several small stock to be sacrificed to the clan ancestors in expiation of his father's sin. Since representatives of all branches of the clan have to be present at such sacrifices, this was equivalent to a ritual reconciliation. Naŋgbeog then exhumed and re-buried the bodies of his father and brother at Tongo. He brought home the live-stock and personal effects he had inherited from his father as well as the widows and children of whom he was now the proper guardian. Gbalɔg's defection was thus erased and his line wholly reunited to the parent stem.

Lineage solidarity, which in its widest extent passes over into clan solidarity, has great practical utility for the natives. But this is not the source of its strength and binding force. Their roots lie in the moral premisses of Tale society; the ideas of right and duty, in the idiom of Tale culture, are the formative elements in the sentiment and the display of lineage solidarity. The starting-point is the fundamental moral axiom of Tale social organization, the axiom that kinship is binding in its own right.[1] And the supreme sanction of lineage solidarity is, as we have seen, the ancestor cult, which is, for the natives, the objective, cultural embodiment of the social conscience.

This is evident not only from the preceding analysis but from a consideration of the rights and restrictions associated with lineage membership. There is the whole complex of rights, obligations, and prohibitions centred in the wives of the lineage members. Underlying it is the identification of lineage members with one another in virtue of their common agnatic descent. The right to inherit a clansman's wife is the correlative of the prohibition against adultery with a clansman's wife. Both rules spring from the notion of the social equivalence of siblings and from the common interest of the clan in the children of the clan. These are not matters of collective property rights but of moral norms. This is clear from the sanction against adultery with a clansman's wife, the belief that the adulterer is mystically dangerous to the injured husband if the latter gets ill.

[1] This subject is fully discussed in *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*.

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682 Similarly there is the prohibition against homicide within the clan. It is a moral prohibition, a taboo (*kihər*), the overt sanction being that the slayer's segment and the victim's segment cannot again sacrifice together. This is shown equally by the fact that vengeance is prohibited, in accordance with the maxim 'It is (as if) a cow had trampled its calf to death (*naah n-nɔ bu bii ku*)', and will be prevented by the elders if necessary by forcibly restraining the victim's segment brothers. Hence comes the prohibition, also, against raiding (*ŋɔk*) within the clan or between linked clans.

578 613 To sum up, there is an undercurrent of tension in every clan and lineage arising directly out of its segmentary structure. From time to time this breaks out in conflict. But in the long run lineage solidarity prevails. The pattern is the same as in the total socio-geographic region of Tale society.

Modern Factors of Disequilibrium

A. *British Rule*

578 182 The suppression of warfare is a symptom of the changed political circumstances of the Tallensi. New forces are beginning to affect their social structure, creating new internal tensions that threaten the supremacy of the ancient sanctions of cohesion. Though the traditional politico-ritual institutions are still the most powerful determinants of corporate relations within and between clans and maximal lineages, the tendency of the new forces is to work against the traditional social equilibrium. As we have seen, the natives themselves stress this.

177 175 578 622 The most pervasive and most powerful of these new factors is British rule. Its greatest achievement has been the enforcement of peace and the substitution of an embryonic judicial organization for the arbitrament of the bow and arrow. Up till 1933, when the reorganization of the system of local government in the Northern Territories was inaugurated, the Administration aimed at creating a centralized, pyramidal organization of executive authority among the clan heads of the Tallensi, under the leadership of the Chief of Tongo. To further this aim the Administration gave its support to certain headmen and chiefs in their dealings with their own clans and with one another. These men were vested with powers which they had never previously held and which had no relation to the native social structure. Coercion and extortion were practised, under cover of meeting the requirements of the white man. Where these requirements were concerned, the system worked, though far from satisfactorily. But constant friction between the chiefs and headmen constituting this artificial hierarchy was inevitable owing to the contradiction between it and the segmentary pattern of the native social structure. For, as we have seen, the native social structure, like the traditional economy and the age-old ritual ideas and values of the people, has preserved its vitality in relation to the social interests and ends which it has always served and still subserves.

177 578 622 Whenever these interests and ends are paramount, as at the times of the Great Festivals, the factional rivalries stirred up by the new dis-

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pensation sink into the background, the sanctions inherent in the native social structure prevail, and the traditional ties of politico-ritual collaboration come into force. But when the new interests brought into being by the influence of the British Administration come to the fore, the traditional social ties and the sanctions associated with them no longer prevail. For among the Tallensi, as among ourselves, such ties and sanctions do not function at all times and in all circumstances. They work in the context of the scheme of social relationships of which they form a part and not in other contexts. These new interests mobilize the existing corporate units of Tale society. Thus they tend to deepen some of the cleavages that exist, and to weaken the countervailing ties, between lineages and clans. It is noteworthy that rivalry for the rewards of political power under the British Administration is most acute between clans that have close ties in the native social system. As was the case with war in former days, clans and maximal lineages that are widely separated from one another, either locally or in terms of their fields of social relations, cannot come into conflict or competition with one another. Thus political rivalry between the Chief of Tongo and his 'younger brother' the Chief of Yamələg is severe and has led to estrangement between these two branches of Mosuor biis. But there is no political rivalry between the Chief of Tongo and the Chief of Datɔk. Competition for political-ritual office within clans is fiercer than it was in the past and less scrupulous, though it still follows the lines of cleavage in the lineage structure.

At the same time some chiefs have used their new powers to weld their clans into closer unity on the political plane than existed in the old days. This has happened at Tongo and at Sie. But it has not been to the benefit of the social balance in the greater society. By strengthening the autocratic ambitions of these chiefs, the closer unity of their clans has tended to aggravate the antagonisms between clans.

B. *Pecuniary Competition among the Hill Talis*

A new factor of disequilibrium that has had a very disturbing influence among the Hill Talis is pecuniary competition which has become associated with certain traditional institutions. Many families nowadays obtain driblets of money through members of the family working abroad, or by petty trade. But the pecuniary competition we are referring to concerns money on a scale unprecedented in Tale history; and its disruptive influence is due to its association with a traffic in ritual benefits comparable to that of the notorious Southern Nigerian oracles.

The centre of this traffic is the Tong Hills, and its disruptive influence has been greatest among the Hill Talis, where it has brought violent competition into the sphere of the common ritual interests and values which form the bulwark of their cohesion. The integration of the Hill Talis in the native social structure depends, as we have seen, on a meticulous balance of local, clanship, and ritual ties and cleavages focused in the politico-ritual offices vested in the heads of maximal lineages. So nicely calculated is the distribution of these politico-ritual functions amongst the various maximal lineages that none can claim

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precedence over the others. All are equally essential for the maintenance of the social equilibrium and competition between them is absolutely excluded. Now the possibility has arisen of acquiring unlimited wealth through these same offices, by a miracle, almost, and from external sources. They have become commercially valuable. And the Tallensi, perhaps because of their great poverty of material goods, their general equality of wealth, and their undifferentiated productive system, are extremely acquisitive. Some of them have shown a natural cupidity for riches and power, and a skill in the pursuit of these gratifications, for which their native way of life formerly gave little scope.

In our references to the cult of the External *Bɔyar* we discussed chiefly the significance of the *Bɔyar* for the interrelations of the Hill Talis clans among themselves. But, as we have mentioned, the cult also has an important role in the external relations of these clans. Each *Bɔyar* has a well-defined sphere of influence in one or other of the tribes adjacent to the Tallensi, or within easy access of the Tong Hills, the Mamprusi, the Bulisi, the Woolisi, the Gɔrisi, and even some of the Mossi sub-tribes. Thus a number of villages in the south-west of Mampurugu are in the sphere of interest of Bona'ab, the *Bɔyar* of which Kpata'ardem are the senior custodians, whereas many villages in the south-east of Mampurugu come into the sphere of influence of the Degal *Bɔyar*. The villages are further divided up so that each of the maximal lineages belonging to a *Bɔyar* congregation has several villages, or sections of several villages, as its particular clients. This aspect of the cult is by no means a mere side-line. It is an intrinsic and obviously old-established feature of it. The best proof of this is the fact that Hill Talis clans which claim to be of immigrant origin usually cite those parts of the adjacent non-Tale areas where they have client villages as their probable homes of origin. Similarly the ritual officials of these villages whom we mention below often explain their association with the External *Bɔyar* cult of the Talis by a myth of descent from an immigrant from the Tong Hills.

From these client villages, as we have already learnt, pilgrims come to the *Bɔyar* regularly, particularly in the dry season. They come individually to supplicate for health, prosperity, and especially for the boon of children. As children born in answer, ostensibly, to such requests are the spiritual wards of the *Bɔyar*, many pilgrims come as 'children of the *Bɔyar*' to offer thanksgiving gifts and sacrifices, or atonement sacrifices for a misdeed. But more important are the pilgrims who come annually as official representatives of their villages. They are usually the tendaanas of the villages, and they come to beg for the blessings of the *Bɔyar* on the village, for its health, and for a successful farming year; or if there has been sickness, or a failure of crops or any other misfortune in the past year, to bring atoning sacrifices to the *Bɔyar*. The ritual offices these men hold in their own villages are under the aegis of the *Bɔyar*; and through them the *Bɔyar* exercises considerable influence in the affairs of a client village. For to these outsiders the *Bɔyar* is an oracle as well as a shrine, manifesting itself through the medium of a mysterious subterranean voice, whose advice, admonitions, and demands are interpreted by its custodians.

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food, beer, tobacco, kola nuts, and household and farming equipment, must be hoarded. One result has been that the Gɔlibdaana's ambitions have been enormously inflated. He has been striving to turn his wealth into prestige. He would fain be a great chief, and has for years been scheming and intriguing to this end. As is common in African societies to which European contact has opened up new economic opportunities that are wholly or partially divorced from their own social structure and economic system, the Gɔlibdaana's response to the opportunity offered by the pilgrim traffic has been a mixture of cupidity, calculation, and unbridled self-interest.

The point of interest here is the effect of the Gɔlibdaana's monopoly on the interrelations of the Hill Talis clans. All the other clans of the Hills view it with open envy, in particular Kpata'ar, the clan immediately contiguous with the Gɔlibdaana's clan, Bunkiuk. The people of Kpata'ar claim political superiority to Bunkiuk, on the strength of their being (as they assert) *primus inter pares* in the scheme of ritual collaboration among the Hill clans. They therefore demand the lion's share of the pilgrim traffic with the south, though they are now wholly excluded from it. The other clans of the Hills excluded from this traffic make similar but smaller demands. It is, in effect, a demand for a distribution of the profits of this new economic application of the *Bɔyar* cult on the same lines as the distribution of the traditional client villages. In the traditional arrangement the economic exploitation of the cult follows the accepted principles of equality and equilibrium in the social system. Each of the dozen or so *Bɔya* of the Hill Talis had its group of client communities exclusively reserved for it and there were no great variations between the profits of one *Bɔyar* and another.

An immediate result has been that the Gɔlibdaana no longer exercises undisputed headmanship, as the executive agent of the Administration, over all the Tɛnzugu clans. In 1933 he was in control of all the Tɛnzugu clans in all matters falling under the jurisdiction of the Administration. He called out the young men for road building or rest-house repairs; exacted a tribute from all independent householders living on top of the Hills or entitled to live there; and judged all cases brought against Tɛnzugu people or sent on cases from Tɛnzugu to other headmen or chiefs. Since 1936 the Kpata'ar faction has refused to submit to his control in these matters. Meanwhile the Administration has ruled that neither the Gɔlibdaana nor the Kpata'arna'ab shall be recognized as headman of the Tɛnzugu clans until the people have settled among themselves which of them is rightfully entitled to the post. So there are now two headmen.

To-day a silent feud, taking the form of intrigue and conspiracies to undermine one another's reputation with the Administration, rages among the Hill Talis. On one side stands the Gɔlibdaana and his faction, the nucleus of which is the majority of his own maximal lineage; on the other the factions hostile to him, chief of which is the maximal lineage of the Kpata'arna'ab. The struggle has become so acute, on several occasions, that bloodshed was only prevented by the fear of stern intervention by the District Commissioner.

The feud follows the lines of cleavage between clans and maximal

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621 lineages inherent in the native social structure. The majority of the
622 Golibdaana's own maximal lineage share in the profits of his monopoly
177 and are solidly behind him; the maximal lineages of the leaders of the
opposition are solidly against him; but many of the maximal lineages that
●578 have clanship or ritual links with both sides are split. Many of the young men of these lineages side with the Golibdaana—enticed, their elders say bitterly, by his lavish gifts. The older men are uneasily neutral or tacitly opposed to the Golibdaana because he has brought dissension to the Hills and has flouted some of the ancient ritual customs. Both parties try to manœuvre the opposition into a position which will set the Administration in motion against them; the leaders of both parties say that the white man's authority is the only force that will help them to victory. And they feel particularly bitter because the vigilance of Administrative officers has frustrated all their efforts to exploit this potent sanction.

At the same time they try to use the sanctions of their own social structure to gain their aims. For outside the struggle for control of the pilgrim traffic, the ties of clanship, kinship, and ritual collaboration remain valid as before. During the Great Festivals the feud sinks into temporary abeyance. The Golibdaana and the Kpata'arna'ab speak with hatred of each other when it is a question of political power or the pilgrim traffic; they continue to perform those rites of the Great Festivals and of the Earth cult in which they are ritually obliged to collaborate, with apparent cordiality. This is a 'separate thing' they declare. It would be an appalling sin bringing catastrophe on the whole country, they say, if they threw over these bonds.

But the new alinements in the pecuniary struggle and the traditional social structure cannot be kept apart in watertight compartments. The Kpata'arna'ab and the Golibdaana try to coerce each other through their mutual ritual obligations. They try to put pressure on each other through maximal lineages that are intercalary between their lineages; and to win over the other maximal lineages with which they have clanship or ritual ties.

Experienced elders maintain, with the sceptical candour that is one of the few charms Tallensi have for an ethnographer, that this can never decide the issue. Putting it at its highest, the bonds of clanship, kinship, and ritual collaboration are a double-edged weapon. If Kpata'ar tries to coerce Samiit to side with it by refusing to collaborate with Samiit in the rites of their common External *Bɔŋar*, the ancestors might well blame Kpata'ar and punish them. Tallensi are not—so the old men say—restrained from doing something to their personal advantage by the fear of mystical penalties. 'Who fears death before death comes upon you?' It is only after a death occurs that the survivors see in it signs and omens referring to their social relations with one another.

578 Whenever a death occurs in any of the Hill clans, especially if it is the
764 death of an important person, the chronic discord between them is openly recollected. It is both a symptom of the general feeling of uneasiness and a move in the game of attempted mutual coercion by mystical sanctions. A funeral almost inevitably causes this feeling to be ventilated. For people of all the Tenzugu and many other clans are present, as kinsfolk, affines,

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578 neighbours, and friends of the deceased. They feel the contradiction
764 between their mutual bonds of amity with one another as kin or friends and their latent hostility, in other situations, as members of opposed corporate units. Thus it often happens that when a diviner is publicly consulted
[787] about the mystical cause of the death, he attributes it to the anger of the ancestors or the Earth over the disharmony on the hills. Even if this is not the diviner's verdict, the faction opposing that to which the dead man belonged will interpret his death in this sense. Thus when the Sakpee tɛndaana died, the men of Kpata'ar, including some of his own matrilateral kinsmen, were secretly almost jubilant. They were convinced that this death was a punishment, and a warning from the ancestors, for his defection from the Kpata'ar party to the Gɔlibdaana's side; for the Sakpee tɛndaana is one of the ritual officers of the External *Bɔyar* of which Kpata'ardem are the senior custodians, as we have previously seen.

613 Up to now these mystical warnings have not been heeded. They have,
578 at most, reinforced the tendency for the heads of maximal lineages to
787 aline themselves on the same side as the maximal lineages with which they have ties of clanship and of ritual collaboration. For obviously these ties have greatest efficacy for the individuals who hold the offices through which they are normally expressed. The rank-and-file members of the lineages concerned often persist in the path of greatest self-interest. Nor have these warnings helped to mitigate the struggle between the Gɔlibdaana's maximal lineage and the other lineages which take the lead in opposing him. To-day, as in the days of warfare, a man can keep up cordial personal relations with a kinsman in the opposite camp. He will not, because of his personal kinship ties with the enemy, contract out of his own lineage in issues affecting its corporate unity—least of all when the motive of profit is added to the bonds of lineage solidarity.

622 The disturbing effects of the Gɔlibdaana's pecuniary enterprise have
578 not been limited to Tɛnzugu. He has come into conflict with Yinduuri by
621 claiming jurisdiction over a section of Zandoya that has always been regarded as coming within the field of social and politico-ritual relations of Yinduuri (see p. 163). He is not on speaking terms with the Bɔyaraana of Sii, who claims to be the senior ritual functionary of the Wannii *Bɔyar* as well as the senior chief of all the Talis, and therefore demands control of the pilgrim traffic with the south. He has gravely offended the Chief of Tongo, his own brother-in-law, by wrongfully assuming the insignia and aping the etiquette of a superior chief, and by bribing the Paramount Chief of the Mamprusi to invest him with the rank of a chief of high status. But for the intervention of the Administration this particular
[776] quarrel would already have led to serious disturbances, for the people of Tongo are extremely jealous of the rank and status of their chiefship and unanimously resent the Gɔlibdaana's presumption. It is notable that they do not in the least envy the Gɔlibdaana his pecuniary monopoly. Frankly despising the fertility and oracle aspects of the *Bɔyar* cult as a piece of fraudulent magic, they look on the money gained through the pilgrim traffic as tainted. In this matter Namoos and Talis have not
[477] got a sphere of common interests within which they might be rivals. The interests of Tongo and Bunkiuk intersect only in relation to the

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the social structure as a whole kinship is the fundamental binding element. It furnishes the primary axioms of all categories of interpersonal and inter-group relations.

From the standpoint of the individual, all the norms and conditions that govern his social behaviour fall within a single, syncretic frame of reference; and kinship forms the base line from which this frame of reference is projected. This is a consequence of the syncretic structure of Tale society, based as it is on genealogical connexion. The alinement of individuals and groups for all social purposes follows genealogical lines; with few exceptions, social relations always have a genealogical coefficient. And because they have a common foundation in the genealogical structure of the society, Tale institutions interlock with one another in a consistent scheme. For the same reason Tale social relations do not fall into distinct categories with only adventitious connexions between them. Economic relations serve jural, political, and religious ends as well; political relations are at the same time religious relations; jural rights and duties are aspects of economic, religious, and political bonds.

The extent to which the idiom of kinship dominates Tale thought about human affairs is shown by the tendency of the people to explain conduct that conforms to the norms by appealing to kinship. The late Chief of Tongo, for example, justified his conciliatory tactics with the Golibdaana, in spite of the latter's provocations, on the grounds of their ties of cognatic and affinal kinship. On the other hand, departure from normal standards of conduct is apt to be ascribed to personal idiosyncrasies. Thus when Zayahkpɛmɔre fought with his older brother over the division of their late father's land, the elders of his lineage ascribed it to his violent temper and lack of intelligence. In keeping with this idiom of thought, a gross breach of kinship duty is the prototype of the Tale notion of sin.

Cognatic and Agnatic Kinship

It is essential to distinguish two kinds of genealogical ties among the Tallensi. There are, firstly, cognatic ties, that is, ties of actual or assumed physical consanguinity and of the social relations entailed by them, which link person to person or an individual to a lineage or one lineage to another in a specifically defined and particular bond. Such ties may be traced through males only, through females only, or through both males and females. Secondly, there are lineage ties, social relations based on the tie of common agnatic descent.

Cognatic kinship and agnatic kinship have different, in some situations even opposed, functions in Tale collective life. The distinction turns on the principle that lineage ties always unite people in or relate them to corporate groups serving common interests and held together by common values, whereas cognates do not necessarily form corporate

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A striking illustration of this antithesis occurred at a sacrifice that Diŋkaha made to one of his ancestors. An ambitious and none too scrupulous braggart of considerable intelligence and drive, Diŋkaha had been very useful to me and had made the most of his connexion with me. One of the objects of this ceremony was to show off his friendship with me to his clansmen, and his prestige among them to me. It was, therefore, a specially lavish occasion. In the middle of the ceremony Diŋkaha's father-in-law called in. The old man was respectfully received and ushered into his daughter's rooms. Diŋkaha finished the sacrifice and began to distribute the meat. Various members of his lineage and clan received the portions due to them. And then, intoxicated with conceit at having his white friend in his house and at the obvious appreciation of his stock, in consequence, in the eyes of his clansmen, a rash impulse overcame him. Holding up a goat's foreleg—one of the ritually prescribed portions that should be reserved for those entitled by birth to share in the sacrifice—he launched out into a speech, the gist of which was that he desired his father-in-law to accept it in order to mark this special occasion. A sombre look came upon the old man's face. He was visibly shocked. Speaking gravely but curtly, he refused the gift. *Deenam*, he said, do not sacrifice together; it is an unheard-of thing; he could not accept the gift. Diŋkaha retired in discomfiture behind a smoke-screen of apologies.

Marriage implies the absence of kinship ties between the parties; kinship, the impossibility of marriage. Kinship ties exist in their own right; *deen* is an artificial alliance of a contractual nature. The parties to a marriage deliberately and voluntarily enter into a bond, the bride's guardian permitting her to marry in return for a promise on the part of the bridegroom's guardian to pay him four head of cattle. Kinship ties are not voluntary and are automatically binding. The parties to a marriage are bound by rights and duties which did not exist before. Kinship automatically entails moral, jural, and ritual bonds, whereas there is an avowed element of mutual coercion, and therefore potential tension, in the relations of in-laws. They rely upon a special, impartial jural instrument, the bride-price, for the adjustment of their rival claims on the woman.

Tallensi think of *deen* as a relationship for ever fraught with the possibility of conflict over these claims. Nearly all their litigation nowadays, like much inter-clan fighting in former days, concerns bride-price debts or the rival claims over a woman or her children of father-in-law and son-in-law. Such quarrels are incompatible with kinship. They would cut to pieces the solidarity of kinsfolk—that is why, say the Tallensi, kinsfolk do not marry. *Dɔŋam*, in short, presupposes some degree of identification of the parties concerned, mutual or common interests, and especially a bond of amity that excludes strife which might fix a permanent gulf between them.

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these bonds except by birth. No other ties can wholly supersede them in linking person to person and affiliating individuals to defined social groups.

We have noted, however, that not all genealogical ties have an equal value. Though a person acquires significant social ties through both parents, his agnatic relationships have an outstanding importance; and this is particularly so for a man. For not only is patrilineal descent the vertebral principle of Tale social organization and the vehicle of the continuity and stability of the social structure, but men hold the reins of authority, direct economic life, control the political organization, and are supreme in religious and ceremonial thought and action. From his father a man derives his rights to inherit land and other property, his clan membership and the political rights and ritual obligations that go with it, and his ritual relations with his most important ancestors. A woman does not inherit land or other property of value, nor does she succeed to political or ritual office. But clan membership and the concomitant totemic observances,[1] as well as her ritual allegiance to her patrilineal ancestors, mean a great deal for her social destiny and for her children. In short, paternity is the predominant side of parentage in this conspicuously patriarchal society.

Like many other primitive societies, the Tallensi recognize a distinction between physiological paternity and jural paternity—between *genitor* and *pater*, as Radcliffe-Brown puts it. However, the Tallensi feel very strongly that a person's physiological father is his or her right jural father. The assumption is that all the social attributes that come to one from one's father should come from a father who both begot one and recognizes one as his legitimate offspring. Thus there is an inevitable tendency for conflict to arise if a person's physiological and jural paternity do not coincide. Such a person tends to be penalized in respect of his social status, for jural paternity by itself cannot altogether take the place of physiological cum jural paternity.

The conflict is least in the case of an adulterine child, who is always accepted as the rightful child of its mother's husband. No difficulties at all arise in the case of a daughter, who marries out of the lineage as soon as she is nubile. An adulterine son has complete and unreserved filial status. He has full rights of inheritance, of succession, and of ritual access to his putative patrilineal ancestors. Nevertheless, the blot on the scutcheon is not without effect. The story of Sayəbazaa's first-born son, Kologo, illustrates this.

Some years before my first visit to Tongo, Kologo had left his father to go and farm near Datɔk. There seemed to be no adequate motive for this in his case. But when Sayəbazaa died, in 1936, and Kologo as chief mourner had to be summoned for the mortuary rites, I was able to piece together how it had occurred, from guarded hints and veiled comments

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. ix.

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made by other members of the family and by one of Sayəbazaa's maternal kinsmen. Kologo, it appeared, was an adulterine child. Sayəbazaa could never forget this, though it was not a thing that was ever mentioned in public. A man of strong principles, inclined in any case to keep a firm hand on his children, Sayəbazaa was often over-severe with Kologo. The tension admitted by custom to exist between a man and his first-born son was exacerbated. At length Kologo deliberately violated—or so Sayəbazaa said—the Namoo taboos of a first-born son; and Sayəbazaa thereupon cursed him and expelled him from the house. It was evident from the remarks which gave the clue to the story that the seed of discord here was Kologo's physical paternity, though it did not affect his rights to inherit his father's property and ancestral shrines.

This kind of psychological friction is said not to occur in the special case of a child begotten in permitted extra-marital intercourse, which the Tallensi do not regard as adultery (*pɔyambon*). A man who is sterile or impotent may allow his wife to conceive by another man. The proper way to do this is for him to inform the elders of his lineage first. With their blessing and consent he may give his wife permission to find a lover wherever she wishes—'*u gɔma, nye puur, ɔn nye Moog ni Zaŋbiog ɔn nyɛbma*—let her walk about to get a belly; if she meets a Mossi man or a Hausa man (i.e. any passer-by) let her copulate'—is the traditional formula with which he sets her free to be promiscuous, if she chooses, in order to become pregnant. Sensible men and women prefer a more reputable procedure, however. Either the husband asks a friend or kinsman not of his own clan to deputize for him sexually, or he lets the wife choose one of her own distant clan-brothers as a lover. This man is then formally deputed (*galəh*) to be the woman's lover by being presented to the lineage elders, who sacrifice a fowl on his behalf to the lineage ancestors, with an explanation of the circumstances and pleas for a blessing on the affair. The arrangement, though formal, is strictly private, for no man willingly admits to sterility or sexual incapacity; and when, as inevitably happens, it leaks out, public opinion is sympathetic rather than contemptuous. Tallensi say that such cases of begetting a child by proxy do not occur very often.

While I was in Taleland, Baŋam-Teroog's junior wife had a child by a deputed lover. Teroog was an old man, shrivelled and half-blind with age. He once begged me for medicine to restore his fertility, but admitted with regret that he was probably too old for procreation. He deputed his closest friend and distant sister's son, Naabdiya, to beget a child for him. The liaison continued throughout the woman's pregnancy, but ceased as soon as her child was born. I often saw Teroog with this baby, fondling and caressing it with a tenderness that showed more eloquently than words that he regarded it as his own child. Naabdiya, for his part, though his relations with Teroog were as cordial as ever, took no more interest in the infant than any man might take in

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never undertakes anything of importance without consulting Yikpɛmdaan; Yikpɛmdaan need never be in want of a sheep or goat to sacrifice if there are sheep and goats in Tinta'alɔm's house. If any member of the lineage segment of which Tinta'alɔm is the head gets into difficulty, he goes at once to Yikpɛmdaan for counsel and help.

A more telling case is that of Lɔyani and Gai. They belong to different segments of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra.[1] Many years ago Gai quarrelled with the elders of the maximal lineage over the succession to the lineage *bɔyar*. The Yakɔra Tɛndaana of the time took an oath binding all the people of Yakɔra to have nothing to do with Gai in jural and ritual matters until he apologized and a ritual reconciliation was made. Gai and his family keep aloof from all corporate activities of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra. He has obstinately rejected several indirect advances made to him suggesting a reconciliation. One day there was a funeral at Gai's house, and I called to see how a man who is virtually ostracized by his clan would manage an affair that is usually a corporate activity of the whole clan. Finding no other Yakɔra people at the funeral, I went round to Lɔyani's house afterwards. We discussed Gai and his affairs; and Lɔyani, with that blunt candour that has won him general esteem, told me the whole story. Gai's conduct, Lɔyani concluded, was specially distressing to him. 'For', said he, with a trace of bitterness, 'Gai is my *soog*. I should be the one to go to his help immediately and to support him in all his troubles. But if I did, would not the people of Zubiuŋ say that I was breaking faith? Would I not be rejecting the oath of the late (Yakɔra) Tɛndaana? And so I can do nothing.'

In this case Lɔyani's position of influence and responsibility in the maximal lineage compels him to put the interests of lineage unity before those of his *soog*, and Gai's obduracy makes it more difficult for him to compromise. The case of Ɔndieso and Nɛna'ab, who are also *saarɔt* belonging to different segments of the same maximal lineage, is more usual. They 'borrow (*pɛŋ*)' things from each other on the same principle as do members of an expanded family. Normally, if a man borrows something from a member of a lineage segment other than his own, it is a debt that must be repaid in due course. Eight or nine years ago, Ɔndieso borrowed a goat from Nɛna'ab's son. No request was ever made for repayment; but about three years later, Nɛna'ab borrowed three shillings from Ɔndieso; and this was tacitly understood, by both, to have cancelled the debt of the goat. In 1936 an ancient quarrel between Ɔndieso's segment and Nɛna'ab's segment that had been dormant for years flared up again owing to a dispute over the inheritance of a widow. For some months the two segments were completely estranged, the more so as the head of Nɛna'ab's segment had taken the dispute to the chief and so brought the slur of publicity on the head of Ɔndieso's segment. Just then there was a death in Nɛna'ab's family;

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. vi, passim.

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and Ɔndieso was one of the first to come to the help of his *soog* in his sorrow. The other members of Ɔndieso's segment demonstratively remained away.

Other ties of matrilateral kinship also create bonds of personal attachment between members of the same maximal lineage, but none is so effective as that of uterine kinship.

The Dispersion of Uterine Kin

The majority of a person's uterine kin are, however, dispersed among other clans than his own. This is a natural result of the rule of clan exogamy. But Tallensi, as we shall see later,[1] tend to marry into nearby clans rather than into distant clans. A woman of clan A marries into the adjacent clan B; her daughters marry into the next clans C and D; their daughters marry into clans E and F; and so the process goes on. The result is, firstly, that with the passage of the generations the uterine line becomes more and more dispersed; and secondly, that any person's genealogically nearest uterine kin are also, generally, his spatially nearest uterine kin. In practice, it is these near *saarət* whom he knows and knows of; it is they who are concerned in witchcraft accusations or *tyuk* guilt. His more distant *saarət*—distant in both the genealogical sense and in residence—are often unknown to him. The main reason for this is that uterine kinship remains effective only through personal contact. The children of sisters know one another because their mothers have kept in touch, visited one another, and often helped one another all their lives. Similarly, the uterine grandchildren of sisters know one another, if they live near one another, because their mothers have kept in touch, though not so faithfully as true siblings. Often these contacts are maintained into the fourth generation of a woman's uterine descendants; rarely beyond the fourth generation; and a person does not, as a rule, know all his or her *saarət* whose link with him or her is a common great-grandmother. Some of them will, as likely as not, be Gərisi or Namnam and he will not even know of their existence.

In principle, however, uterine kinship is never extinguished, and it often happens that people of different clans, who are strangers to one another, discover by chance that they are distant *saarət*. Supposing, for instance, a man proposes to make an important sacrifice to a lineage ancestor. His agnatic co-descendants of this ancestor are bound to be present; but he will also send to tell the cognatic descendants through women of that ancestor and some of them will come. Two men of different clans may be present who now discover, for the first time, that they are cognatically related through the lineage of their host. They trace out their genealogical connexion (*tumh dɔyam*) and find that they are distant *saarət*. I have seen this happen more than once, and the delight of the men concerned was a vivid testimony to the meaning

[1] Cf. Ch. XI.

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over. Such reciprocal gifts pass between kinsmen of all categories. But the giving is specially generous and cordial between *soog* kin.

In keeping with the unrestricted range of cognatic kinship among the Tallensi, the close ties of kinship between male *saarət* are extended to their children and sometimes to their grandchildren. With men whose fathers were *saarət*, whether they belong to the same clan or not, the formal ties of kinship are often mellowed by the affection and trust of a friendship like that of their fathers. This is rarer with grandsons of male *saarət*, but not unknown. I have seen a man break down with grief over the death of a clansman who was his father's *soog*'s son. He would have felt no sense of personal loss at all if this extra bond had not existed between him and his dead clansman. Again, there was Tiezien of Kpata'ar's lifelong friendship with his father's *soog*'s son at Zuarungu—a friendship which would not normally have arisen between a Talǝŋ and a Gǝrǝŋ living eight miles apart.

A link of uterine kinship is often used to define the relations of individuals who are not themselves directly related by kinship. A typical case that shows how far the classificatory principle can be pressed, if there is a *soog* link in the chain of relationships connecting two people, is the following. Zaawɔmya of Bunkiuk began courting the young widow of a Wakii man. But in the course of making inquiries he discovered that the girl's late husband's father's mother and his own mother had been distant *saarət*. Zaawɔmya concluded, therefore, that the girl's late husband's father would have stood to him in the relationship of an 'older brother' (*bier*), since he would have called the latter's mother his 'mother' (*ma*). Hence the girl's husband would have been his 'son' (*bii*) and the girl herself his 'daughter-in-law' (*sampɔŋa*). 'Well just think of it', he said to me, when he told me the story, 'how can a man marry his daughter-in-law? So I gave it up.' When Mansami, Ɔmara's own father's brother's son ran away with the wife of Ɔmara's father's *soog*'s son at Dkoog, there was a bitter quarrel between them. Ɔmara accused Mansami of disgracing his (Ɔmara's) kinship ties and ordered him either to give up the girl or leave the homestead. Mansami, obstinately insisting that he and the girl's husband were not related, made this the pretext for keeping her and went off to stay with his mother's brother. Such roundabout connexions through a *soog* link are often exploited for ulterior motives. A common trick of fathers who object to a daughter's marrying a particular man is to allege a remote kinship tie of this sort between the girl and her suitor. The latter and his family head may be sceptical of the alleged evidence for this but they can do nothing about it.

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volume.[1] The granary symbolizes all the sentiments and ideas, the apprehensions and joys which the struggle for food evokes in Taleland. It stands for the security of the domestic unit in this struggle. In the organization of the household its importance comes from the fact that it is the focus of the economic cohesion and stability of the domestic group. Into it goes the product of the joint labour of the household, from it comes their sustenance. In filling the granary and in the consumption of its contents, the labour of men, women, and children is equally essential, and the rights of all equally valid. When a joint family splits up, the commonest pretext is friction over grain supplies. The family which hives off does so on the ground that it needs its own, independent food-supply. 'They have each his own granary (*ba mara ba buur ba buur*)', is the formula summing up the economic relations of brothers occupying a single homestead but having separate households.

The granary belongs to the head of the house, the *yirdaana*. No one may enter it without his authorization, least of all his wife. A devoted and trusted wife may be allowed to descend (*sig*) into it to issue the grain (*loo ki*) for cooking if there is no suitable male within reach—Tale conventions are not rigidly complied with if doing so involves excessive and absurd inconvenience. But it would be scandalous if she did so on her own initiative. The contents of the granary are formally the property of the head of the household, to be distributed at his discretion. There is no other place in the homestead which is so rigorously private to him. Besides the grain for current consumption, he stores the seed for next year's crop there. He hides a particularly cherished object, or money which he wants to conceal from other members of the family, in his granary, secure in the knowledge that no one will dare to tamper with it there.

The *zoŋ* enshrines—in both the physical and the ideal sense of this concept—the notion of the continuity of the lineage; the *buur* stands for the social personality of the *yirdaana*, as the centre of an independent domestic family, its economic fulcrum, its jural and ritual head, controller and representative. The position of the granary in the architectural pattern of the homestead corresponds to that of the head of the house in the structure of the family, as the unique link between its parts and the source of its unity.

Tallensi say that a man's soul (*sii*) is in his granary. Using the same phrase one says of a person, '*n siig mbɛ u ni*—my soul is in [drawn towards] him', meaning that one feels a special affinity with him. Among the Namoos the identification of a man with his granary is symbolized explicitly in the taboos that his first-born children have to observe.[2] A man's granary, his cap and tunic, his bow and quiver,

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xi. Also M. and S. L. Fortes, 'Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi', *Africa*, ix. 2, 1937.

[2] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. v.

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or adolescent son. The *da'aŋ* and *da'aŋboog* also serve as a sort of drawing-room. A guest who must be treated with respect is invited to step round to the kitchen to have his meal there in private, a suitor is told to go round to the girl's mother's kitchen to plead his suit with her.

The *da'aŋ* and *da'aŋboog* are the counterpart in the social sphere of a woman of the *zɔŋ*, cattle yard (*sapak*), and granary (*buur*) in that of a man. They mark off the economic field reserved for her and the social sphere in which she is supreme. Etiquette and convention show this, and, as in the case of the *zɔŋ* and the *buur*, ritual notions give expression to it and put the seal of mystical value on it. Women do not have ancestor shrines of their own. But in her storeroom an old woman keeps her *zaaləŋ*. This is a long rope net, holding a neat pile of polished calabash dishes (*ŋmaa*) of all sizes which she has accumulated during her married life. One of these is her *kumpiog*, 'basket of death'. It is the symbol of her mortal existence.[1] When she dies it stands in her *dɔndɔŋo* and is eventually taken, with the most meticulous ceremonial care, to her eldest surviving daughter. In this room also she keeps her main storage pot (*dɔk*). It is to her what a man's granary is to him. One sign of this is the rule that her first-born daughter may never, in the mother's lifetime, open it. She does so ritually when her mother's funeral is completed.[2]

Lastly, there is the grinding-room (*neer*), a vastly important item in the organization of the domestic economy, and in the personal relations of the women of a family with one another. It is always a small, low room, 3 or 4 feet in diameter, with a doorway barely large enough to admit a person on hands and knees. A hole under the eaves, the size of a soup plate, lets in a glimmer of light. A waist-high table built of mud, in the hollow surface of which two nether grindstones are embedded, takes up most of the interior. In a small homestead like Ɔndieso's one *neer* is enough, and his mother and wife share it, though the older woman seldom has occasion to use it as her daughter-in-law does most of the cooking for the family. If there are several women in a household, more than one grinding-room is needed. One reason for this is purely mechanical. Grinding the grain for the main meal, in the evening, takes at least an hour, in the period of plenty. The women and girls do this at any time of the day, but prefer to do it in the afternoon. Thus more than one woman may want to use the *neer* at the same time. But there is another reason as well. Co-wives are apt to squabble over the use of the grinding-room, especially if they do not get on harmoni-

[1] The calabash is the commonest domestic utensil and it symbolizes a woman in many contexts. For instance, when a man's wife bears a child he will send to tell her parents; and the messenger reports, with the euphemism the Tallensi always resort to on such occasions, that the woman has born 'a calabash' (*ŋmaa*) if it is a girl, or a 'staff' (*duor*) if it is a boy—the staff being a hunting-weapon carried by men.

[2] Cf. Ch. VIII below.

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ously, for it is connected with that precise equality of grain rations to which co-wives are entitled and about which they are extremely touchy. To obviate these squabbles, which sometimes kindle suppressed antagonisms into serious quarrels, a man usually provides a separate grinding-room for a wife with a fractious disposition.

In a large and well-ordered house there is a great deal of free and easy communication between the different *dugɔt*. Children in particular go about freely from one woman's quarters (*dug*) to another's, since they are related to all by actual or derived filial ties. The men, too, are free of all the *dugɔt*, for the women are all either their 'mothers' (*manam*)—own mothers, or fathers' other wives, their wives (*pɔɣaba*)—own wives or brothers' wives, or daughters-in-law (*sampɔɣaba*)—own sons' or brothers' sons' wives. Men and their children, members of the same lineage, are the 'owners' of the homestead. They have determinate rights, duties, and sentiments towards all the women. The women are more circumspect, especially about the *dug* of a co-wife (*nentaa*) or husband's mother (*daŋaampɔk*) if their personal relations are not too cordial; for their social inter-relations are indirect and contingent on their marital ties, unless, as sometimes happens, they belong to the same or to linked clans and have, in consequence, a direct bond of solidarity. In spite of this, the general impression left by a visit to a large house is one of friendly co-operation unsullied by jealous distinctions.

The natives themselves have no illusions on this score. They do not take it for granted that all the women of a family will get on well with one another. They recognize clearly that the spatial differentiation of each *dug* in a house corresponds to its structural differentiation; and with this goes a certain degree of domestic privacy and a differentiation of sentiment and of emotional attachments that may become a source of friction. The *dug* (that is, a woman and her children by one man) constitutes the irreducible unit of Tale social structure, both jurally and morally, held together by the strongest social and emotional bonds conceivable to the Tallensi. The *dug* is the Talɔŋ's conceptual model of infrangible solidarity, and his emotional symbol of unstinted nourishment, of complete security, and of parental devotion. It is the prototype, also, of the closely integrated matri-segment within the formally unified patrilineal lineage, as has been shown in our previous volume.[1]

In general, as the foregoing suggests, a man has no room of his own. He keeps his personal belongings in his wife's *dug* and eats and sleeps there, or in his various wives' rooms in turn, if he has more than one. Chiefs, old men, and rich men sometimes have rooms of their own, usually in their senior wives' *dɛndɔnà*, where they keep their more bulky personal belongings and to which they can retire if they want privacy. The Gɔlibdaana and the Gorogo Yikpɛmdaana, as we have seen, make an exaggerated display of their private rooms. But as a matter of fact,

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xii.

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homestead accompanied often by the family head's old mother. This is the usual history of the independent elementary family in Taleland; and about 1 in 8 of the domestic families of our sample have this constitution. Often, however, when a man secedes from the joint family he already has more than one wife, though his children are all still under marriageable age. Polygynous domestic families of this class occur in about the same proportion—1 in 8—in the sample. And thus the cycle begins again. As the children grow up and marry, each fraction of the dismembered joint family evolves into a new joint family, or at least has the possibility of doing so.

A joint family splits up—into family segments, be it noted, not into a number of dispersed individuals—if it has existed long enough to have reached an advanced stage of internal differentiation; but during its existence it is a remarkably cohesive unit. The fissiparous tendencies inherent in its structure are kept well in check until the pressure of economic needs, psychological friction, or a radical alteration in the constellation of the social relations, such as occurs when the family head dies, makes them irresistible. The split follows the lines of cleavage inherent in the structure of the effective minimal lineage on which a particular joint family is founded, and it takes place by stages.

We shall study the process of fission in the joint family later. Here only the results concern us. The simplest split occurs when the oldest son of the family head 'goes out on his own (*yi u kɔkɔ*)',[1] or 'cuts his own gateway (*bit u zanɔr*)' in the family homestead, during his father's lifetime. He thus sets up an independent household, though perhaps living in a semi-detached part of the paternal homestead. But when the old man dies, he frequently returns to the parental home, and the joint family is reconstituted under his authority.

Permanent fission usually occurs between brothers (full, or half-brothers, or paternal cousins), or by the secession of the family head's deceased brother's sons. It begins, and may persist until the family head's death, as a purely economic division. Thus two full (*soog*) brothers—the older being the family head—may decide to farm independently because the growing economic wants of their respective families no longer permit them to maintain a common household. The bond of full brotherhood (*soog*) inhibits further fission altogether, or until such time as both men have adult children. Until then they generally continue to occupy the same homestead, using a single common gateway, cattle-yard (*sapak*), and *zɔŋ*. Their respective sections of the

[1] The intra-family tensions which lead to the 'going out' of the eldest son will be discussed later. They are rationalized, and the secession of the eldest son is given a mystical sanction by the taboo which, among the Namoos, forbids a man ever meeting his first-born adult son face to face in his gateway after the latter has a family of adolescent children. Non-Namoos do not have the taboo, but the beliefs expressed in it are as strong among them as among the Namoos. Cf. below, Ch. VIII.

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people are absolutely alike. Peculiarities of personality and character, they say (and observation bears them out), qualify all social relationships. People conform to the norms but each in the light of his own experiences, his special circumstances, his personal idiosyncrasies. The same sort of events, the same kind of person-to-person relations, make up the life of every family; but they are combined in a unique way in the history of a particular family. They give a distinctive tone or atmosphere to the life of that family that can be more easily felt than described. I knew intimately six domestic families which I kept under observation for many months; I knew another dozen or so families fairly well, and spent many hours in yet other homes all over Taleland. I learnt to perceive, but I could never get below the surface of this affective ambient of family life. It is, indeed, difficult to find terms with which to convey the impression of smooth, equable, well-balanced running which a family like that of Ɔmara's makes on an observer, or the contrary impression of strain, or of inadequate co-ordination, which one sees in families like those of Kutɔbis of Tɔŋ-Dekpieng, or of Pumaan of Tɔŋ-Puhug.

Most Tale families seem to go on in a stable and harmonious way; but there are, as we shall see, very many possibilities of friction, some inevitable, some avoidable, which arise out of the cleavages inherent in the structure of the family. How long these forces of dissension remain dormant, or how they are handled when they thrust forward, depends very much on the character of the family head. A tactful and considerate family head like Ɔmara manages to keep a smooth discipline in his family and to maintain amicable relations with his neighbours, whereas an erratic man like Kutɔbis cannot keep his sons in check and is for ever at loggerheads with his nearest agnates. From the point of view of the structurally significant norms, this feature of Tale family life and of Tale kinship in general is important as underlying the elasticity of actual social behaviour within the limits of the norms, and as a dynamic factor in the cycle of changes that a family passes through.

One thing which puts a screen between an inquirer and the inner life of a family is the surprising degree of privacy a family can preserve. It is surprising in the circumstances of Tale social life. One's neighbours are one's nearest lineage kin. The lineage principle compels a man to consult and gain the support of these kin in any matter of importance, and he generally does so in trivial matters too. Men of the same lineage grow up together, play together in childhood, often work together as youths or men, constantly visit one another's homes, identify themselves with one another and act together in corporate affairs. Inevitably they know one another's personal history in detail. And this knowledge is not the mere stuff of gossip, but a real force in the corporate life of the lineage and the community, since the biography of the individual is a thread in the current history of the lineage, tying up with its common

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as a form of investment, if such it can be called. Indeed, over most of Taleland the buying and selling of farm-land is ritually prohibited.[1] Occasionally disputes arise between the heirs when farm-lands pass by inheritance. But these rare quarrels are considered to be despicable and are ascribed to idiosyncrasies of character. In any case they are quarrels over the apportionment of joint property and there is always the chance that the man who has come off worst will later inherit the very land he was deprived of.

It is the exact contrary with wives. They form the chief object of competition both between individuals and between corporate groups. This is explicitly admitted in the conventions ruling the abduction of wives and marriage with another man's ex-wife.[2] The prohibition against abducting the wife (or marrying an ex-wife) of a clansman, kinsman, or member of a locally contiguous clan admits the fact that such acts are the most prolific source of strife, leading, in the old days, to bloodshed at times. The corollary that it is permissible, nay, commendable, to abduct the wife of a member of a distant, unrelated clan is an expression of the idea that geographically distant and genealogically unconnected clans have no direct common interests.

Competition for wives always was and still is the chief source of conflict between individuals and groups in Taleland. More than 90 per cent. of all cases brought to chiefs' courts nowadays are concerned with wives, and they are always triangular affairs with two men competing for the woman or her offspring. The reason for this competitive attitude about wives in a society almost devoid of durable goods of great productive or prestige value and possessing few prestige-conferring offices is not difficult to see, as has been previously indicated. Wives are the sole means of attaining the supreme end of life for the natives, the perpetuation and increase of a man's lineage. Like land, which is a common interest to the whole nuclear and often inner lineage, wives are of common interest to all the members of their husbands' lineages (not only their inner lineages, but even their maximal lineages and clans), for all of whom the perpetuation of their line of descent is of transcendent importance. This idea, which is expressed in the principle of the levirate, lies behind many of the institutions we shall be considering in this chapter.

Tallensi maintain that marriageable young women have become much scarcer than a generation ago. They blame the chiefs and headmen, whose new-found wealth enables them to have large harems, thus robbing young men of possible wives. Tallensi say that girls naturally prefer to marry young men, who are more congenial to them sexually and socially, rather than old men, however prosperous or exalted they may be. But a girl cannot easily resist an offer of marriage from a chief

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xi.
[2] Ibid., ch. iv.

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be a grievous sin against her parents and her ancestors, sure to bring misfortune on her and her children.

I was the unsuspecting witness of the strength of a woman's filial devotion, brought out by the crisis of death, at Sawɔŋba's burial ceremony. Sawɔŋba's daughter married a Tenzugu man against her father's wish. To add insult to injury, when Sawɔŋba sent messengers to demand a cow of the bride-price, his son-in-law turned them away with contempt. As the girl refused to leave her husband, Sawɔŋba cursed her, and, being a leper who knew he had not long to live, expressly forbade her to come to his funeral. She was not told of his death, but heard of it indirectly. On the day of the burial, during one of the major rites, there was a sudden commotion in the crowd around the gateway. A young woman dashed forward, making for the homestead. I could see the strained and agitated look on her face as she passed me. But at once one of Sawɔŋba's classificatory sons darted forward, seized her, and dragged her back to the tree where the elders sat. For a minute or two nothing but a wildly shouting mob could be seen under the tree. Then the girl struggled out, sobbing aloud, her body covered with bruises where she had been beaten by her enraged brothers and clansmen. Followed by execrations, she was escorted by one of the elders to where her husband and a party of his lineage kin were waiting. Only the fear of bloodshed, which would make the affair into that much-dreaded thing, a 'case for the white man (*nasaara ycl*)', had restrained them from interfering. Sawɔŋba's sons and lineage kin did not see the pathos of their sister's action. They were thoroughly incensed, and called it an insult. Had her husband wished to behave properly, he would have sent an elder of his lineage to beg Sawɔŋba's pardon while he was still alive, or, at any rate, to beg the head of Sawɔŋba's medial lineage to intercede with his sons when he heard of Sawɔŋba's death.

These bonds of a woman with her parental family play an important part in Tale domestic economy. After the harvest there is always a great coming and going of daughters to and from their parental homes. And no man would let his daughter or sister depart, at this time, without a gift of a well-filled basket of grain. This is one way in which a woman builds up her own private resources out of which she provides little luxuries, utensils, and clothes for herself and by means of which she often tides the family over a lean period. This is a privilege, but it has almost the force of a right. Occasionally an elderly woman without a son, or, as sometimes happens nowadays, with her only son away for long in Ashanti or the Colony, is left without proper support in her husband's home. She can then go back to her father's home and is entitled to her sustenance as of right. The services a woman's husband renders to her father, now and then, in the early years of marriage, the interest she has in her brother's children, the importance attached to

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members of two mutually exclusive corporate groups. That is why the lineages of husband and wife are implicated in the marriage and have a lasting interest in its course and in the offspring that come from it. Tale speech and etiquette reveal this, and the classificatory extension of affinal kinship depends on this. Thus if your friend's son or daughter has recently married, you do not ask him 'Whom did he (she) marry?', but 'Where (i.e. which clan) did he (she) marry?', and 'A child of whose house (i.e. what segment of the clan) did he (she) marry?'. We shall take up this thread again at a later stage of our analysis. At present we are concerned with the consequences for the relations of husband and wife of their divergent lineage ties.

The tension due to these opposing sets of social ties appears most acutely in the early stages of marriage, obviously as a result of the fact that marriage is an alliance between two genealogically independent corporate units with rival interests in the protagonists. Every marriage in which the husband is a young man begins as a struggle, carried on with many wiles, stratagems, pretexts, and even threats of or recourse to force. Firstly, the suitor has to compete with other young men whom his would-be bride and in-laws often play off astutely against him. The largest part of his courtship consists in winning over the girl's parents with frequent presents and soft words. To elope with her he must buy the secret connivance of her mother or brother, for her father will always stand out for a negotiated marriage. This is not only an acknowledgement of the father's right to dispose of his daughter's hand, but a guarantee of the consent of the bridegroom's guardian and lineage elders and hence of the payment of the bride-price on demand. It is a defeat for the bridegroom, who has to bow to the will of his father-in-law.

The real struggle begins, however, only after a man succeeds in carrying off his bride by elopement. If the elders on both sides tacitly accept the match as a good one, it becomes a matter of mere formality; but all the conventions of the jural transactions necessary to make a legitimate marriage are couched in the idiom of a struggle between hostile groups. That is why they must take place through an intermediary, the *pɔɣasama*, a clansman of the bridegroom and a cognatic kinsman of the bride, bound to hold an even balance between the two parties by reason of his kinship with both.[1] But often enough the struggle turns into a genuine and sometimes acrimonious battle for the girl which may go on for weeks or months. It is then that the lack of a constituted legal system in Tale political organization makes itself felt. The girl's father resorts to all sorts of devices to coerce her abductors. He may use ritual pretexts, exploit ties of cognatic kinship with the abductors' lineage or clan, even, in extremity, threaten to kill himself on their doorstep, or, in the old days, to stir up war against their clan. I have been present at several violent altercations between a party of men

[1] Cf. pp. 317–18 below.

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578 602 627 come to demand a runaway daughter and her would-be husband's lineage elders. The young man will hide the girl with friends, or use other stratagems to keep her, backed up for the time being, and chiefly for form's sake, by his lineage elders. But later he may have a struggle with the head of his nuclear lineage if he is opposed to the marriage. It is not until the formal placation gift (*sindaan*) is sent to the girl's father with his consent and that of his lineage elders, that a truce comes, and not until the first instalment of the bride-price is paid that a promise of peace appears—which may not be for months, or even for a couple of years.

675 583 The placation gift and the bride-price provide an objective instrument by means of which the two lineage segments which are the parties to a marriage can balance their divergent interests in and opposing rights over the woman. It is the instrument that separates the woman from her natal family—or rather, it separates her role as wife from her role as daughter, her subordination to her husband from her subjection to her father, so that the conflict between these roles is kept in check.

583 576 That is the meaning of the rule I once heard summed up in the maxim: 'A woman must not be at her father's house when they (her husband's people) send the placation gifts. That is a taboo.' The young man who said this was protesting at the breach of this rule forced upon him by the unscrupulous action of one of the leading elders of his clan. The rule applies both to the placation gift and to the bride-price.

574 793 A newly wed wife, therefore, often finds herself torn between her desire to be with her husband and her loyalty and sense of duty to her parents, enhanced as this is by her respect for parental authority. Tallensi realize that she must be weaned from her attachment to her parents. Thus for the first month or two of marriage a young wife is not allowed to visit her parents, lest, as the natives say, her longing for her mother should get the better of her and she should refuse to return to her husband. Even after some years of marriage men object to young wives paying prolonged visits to their parents without good cause, as we have seen. I have often been amused at the mood of bristling suspicion which comes over a man left a grass-widower for a week or two, though he has probably consented to his wife's going on a visit and may have other wives at home. It must be admitted, however, that wives [837] run off with other men often enough after such visits to give grounds for the taunt of innate frivolity and fickleness that men throw up against the whole of the opposite sex. A woman in her father's house assumes, for the time being, the social personality of a daughter; and it is as if she is prone, then, to doff her wifehood and with it her sense of duty to her husband. Tallensi say that, if a man falls out with his father-in-law, his wife will take her husband's part when she is with him, but will side with her father at her parental home. Only after several years of marriage, with children pledging her to marital fidelity and an established relationship binding her to her husband, is she most likely to

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hidden struggle between her husband and her father-in-law. Though she is in the position of a daughter to her parents-in-law, she cannot feel for them nor they for her the love and devotion that moderate the strictness of parental authority and give a tone of easy-going friendliness to the normal intercourse of parents and children. One side of the parent-child relationship, the authority of parents over their children, looms foremost for her. The cleavage between successive generations and the tension that holds them apart, are underlined at the expense of the mutual devotion and identification of parents and children.

Parents-in-law, for their part, have ambivalent feelings towards their daughter-in-law. Behind their ostensible pride and pleasure in their son's marriage lurks the shadow of resentment. A man realizes that his son's marriage is the first step in his eventual emancipation. It is the seed from which grow responsibilities and interests that compete with those he owes to his natal family and threaten his loyalties to them. A woman sees in her son's marriage a sign that her reproductive life is over. Tallensi hold that it is improper, and to some extent mystically dangerous, for mother-in-law and daughter-in-law to bear at the same time. Hence parents often, though covertly, try to prevent a first son marrying young, or else, in self-defence, display exaggerated conceit at a son's early marriage. Only the coming of grandchildren, coinciding as it does with the habituation of the daughter-in-law to her conjugal family, and itself a distinction inspiring great pride and joy in the grandparents, compensates for the renunciations implicitly required of a man's parents when he takes a wife.

Inevitably, therefore, there is an element of tension in the relations of parents-in-law and daughter-in-law. The fact that the daughter-in-law is under the power of her husband's family, particularly of her father-in-law, and that they are formally, if not openly, opposed to her paternal family, to which, however, she is still attached by the strongest ties of duty and sentiment, may add to the strain. It may be quite superficial in a well-regulated family or in the case of an approved marriage, apparent only in the conventions of speech and etiquette. In an ill-managed family, or if there is opposition to the marriage, it often comes out openly. Parents-in-law complain of their daughter-in-law's manners or actions, or mother-in-law and daughter-in-law have petty squabbles. As time passes the strain is mitigated with the gradual absorption of the daughter-in-law into her conjugal family. It is never wholly erased. Even in so well organized a family as Omara's, there was a standing feud between his younger wives and his mother. The old woman, half-sunk in the hebetude of senility, complained ceaselessly of the neglect of her daughters-in-law; and they often quarrelled with her vehemently on account of what they regarded as her exorbitant demands on their firewood, their labour, and their food-supply.

The conventions of behaviour followed by parents-in-law and daugh-

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606 ter-in-law towards one another, and the terminology of address associ-
●578 ated with them, put a protective fence between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law. 'My mother', or 'my father', in this context means 'a person to whom I owe punctilious respect'. The relation is one of reciprocal respect, because it is based on something in the nature of a contract. The daughter-in-law's attitude is an exaggeration of one aspect of filial respect towards the parents. This aspect is more prominent in kinship relations outside the focal field and in ceremonial relations patterned on, but structurally different from, true parent-child relations, than in the latter. It is reminiscent of the behaviour of his clansmen to a chief or tendaana on formal occasions, when his symbolic position as father (*ba*) of the clan is most apparent.

Naturally the barrier between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is stricter than between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law owing to the difference of sex, though it is not obvious to an outsider. Once she is accepted, a man usually treats his daughter-in-law with kindness and affability. In public he treats her with a familiar friendliness, in the same way as if she were his daughter. But whereas he scolds his daughter without hesitation, he does not scold or criticize his daughter-in-law directly. It would offend and hurt her, and upset their amicable relations. The barrier between them—and this applies in a lesser degree to the mother-in-law too—can be maintained only on the basis of mutual courtesy and affability. Where the barrier is most sharply emphasized is not in their public intercourse but in their relations as
[835] members of opposite sexes. For a man to have sexual relations with, or even sit on the same mat as, his daughter-in-law is a sin of the first magnitude. '*Den n-kih pam!* (that is an extreme taboo)', say the natives, with every sign of repugnance. It is a sin that can never be wholly atoned for. Sooner or later the culprits will be slain by the ancestor spirits; for, like incest with a father's wife of which it is the counterpart, it destroys irreparably the moral and religious bonds of father and son. I heard of an old man who died some years ago who used to have his daughters-in-law sit on his lap, and 'play' with them. This, my informants said scoffingly, was just the ill manners of an old dotard. But Gunyaam's seduction of his daughter-in-law was revealed to me with bated breath. It was no wonder, my informant said, that he died soon after, and that misfortunes crowded on his family.

The relations of daughter-in-law to parents-in-law are well summed up in the statement always made by Tallensi if they are asked for an explanation of the terminology of address used between these relatives. They say: 'We stand in awe of them (parents-in-law or daughters-in-law)', (*ti zootbame*, lit. 'we fear them').[1]

601 [1] This terminology of address is of considerable theoretical interest. Rattray (op. cit., p. 6) attributes the custom of addressing a daughter-in-law as 'mother' (customary also amongst the Gorisi, Namnam, and other peoples adjacent to

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family head, she does so as a privileged spectator. She has this privilege because her welfare is bound up with that of her husband and children, and theirs with hers. She remains outside the religious and moral solidarity of her husband's clan and maximal lineage, and, indeed, has only a contingent interest in the solidarity of his minimal lineage. It is noteworthy that women, both daughters and wives, are excluded from the esoteric ritual activities in which the moral sanctions of the unity and continuity of lineage and clan are embodied. In religious, jural, and political matters—all of which are closely interconnected—Tale women have the status of minors. This exclusion is most stringent in the case of the Earth cult and the cult of the lineage *bɔŋar*. But the segregation is not so rigid as to keep women in entire ignorance of or wholly disinterested in these male monopolies. Their welfare depends upon the propitious outcome of these activities as much as that of their menfolk. They see, hear, and discuss among themselves and with their menfolk ritual affairs and jural actions that concern their husbands' lineages of which, indeed, wives and children often form the main subject. They grind the flour, brew the beer, and witness the preparations for esoteric religious rites. They see the public and semi-public phases of big religious ceremonies and overhear the endless consultations and discussions between the men which these ceremonies always produce.

A wife, therefore, can be in sympathy with the interests and can respect the values that rule the actions of her husband and her sons as members of their agnatic descent group, while being herself excluded from an effective public role in relation to them. But a cleavage remains. Thus in a conflict between her husband's clan and her father's clan she might very well take the side of the latter, not openly, it is true, but covertly. How strongly the natives feel this was shown at the divination ceremony following the death of Siiyɛlib of Tɔŋ-Seug. This divination was so cryptic and involved that I could make no sense of it. Fortunately I was able to get an explanation from one of my most trustworthy informants, a close agnate of the dead man. Siiyɛlib's death, it appeared, was a mystical retribution for a grave sin he had committed many years before. He had been one of the instigators of the white man's attack on the Hill Talis, and was an accessory, therefore, to the slaughter of many men. Now there were several Talis present at the funeral—kinsmen, affines, and, last but not least, wives of the dead man and his close agnates. If Siiyɛlib's sin were publicly brought out in the divination it would stir up all their hostile feelings. They would feel resentful towards Siiyɛlib's surviving agnates on account of his complicity in the destruction of their fathers and grandfathers. And this would produce strife between the men of Seug and their Talis wives, their Talis cognates, and their Talis affines.

The social and psychological cleavage which underlies all the relations of husband and wife is the structural kernel around which the

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basic dichotomy of *dug* and *yir* crystallizes. The comradeship which grows up gradually between husband and wife with the lapse of time is the obverse, paradoxical as it may seem, of a process of gradual emancipation of the wife. As her children grow up, the centre of gravity of her life shifts more and more to them and away from her husband. If she has a grown-up son, her interests and emotions become centred more and more on him and his family by marriage. They constitute her *dug*, in which she is secure, honoured, and titularly, if not effectively, supreme. It is her son and grandson who will honour her spirit and commemorate her in worship after her death. Her son has become the effective breadwinner, and she looks to him for sustenance. If a young woman loses her husband, her grief is aggravated because she realizes that she has lost the head and pivot of her young family and must face uprooting and readjustment to a new partner. An old woman mourns the death of her husband greatly, too, but her grief is mitigated, if she has a son, by her feeling of security and of fulfilment. The death of an adult son, especially an only son, is an irreparable tragedy to her.

Thus it happens that a woman who has been twice married often lives, in her old age, with the oldest son of her first marriage, rather than with her husband. This was the case with Tiezien's old wife, Naaho; and the reason Tiezien and Naaho's son, Nyaaŋzum, gave for this brings out a point of the first importance. Laughing, they said, 'She is no use any longer as a wife, she can't cook; and she has no vulva now (*u le ka pɛn yaha*)—that is, her reproductive powers are finished. And they laid special stress on the last point.

A woman attains her fullest freedom in the family when she ceases to have sexual value, that is, from the native point of view, when she ceases to be reproductive.

The Sexual Relationship in Marriage

The sexual relationship is the corner-stone of Tale marriage. At first sight this is puzzling to the observer, for the Tallensi have a thoroughly matter-of-fact attitude about sex. They regard sex as a normal and natural appetite. Any aspect of the generative functions can be discussed without circumlocution in the presence of men, women, or children. A young woman, or a girl, may show signs of shyness or coyness, but no one ever shows any real embarrassment. Bawdy or salacious talk about sex is common amongst men; very rarely does it verge on the obscene. The Tallensi take it for granted that children will indulge in sexual play, and attach no value to prenuptial chastity. In the ritual of the Arrow Medicine (*Peentee*) for protection in war, the services of a virgin boy and virgin girl are required. These children are bound to the medicine by a taboo of chastity in early childhood; but they are released as soon as they approach puberty; for by that time, the natives say, they cannot be expected to resist sexual temptation. Tallensi say

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593 which, it is tacitly understood, his wife will one day make good. Often such debts between spouses are straightened out by mutual borrowings,
426 tacitly understood to cancel one another. Very often, however, a man has to cajole his wife with definite promises to repay before she will lend him her property. But the natives are emphatic about one point: that all such transactions belong to the give and take of marital co-operation and solidarity. It is one of the ways in which a woman stands by her husband and a man by his wife.

The Husband's Authority over his Wife

593 As might well be expected, these rights and duties of spouse to spouse do not rest on anything in the nature of a formal compact. There is no
●578 jural machinery or sanction by means of which a husband or wife can be compelled to perform his or her duties to his or her partner. A man can, and sometimes does, chastise his wife for incorrigible laziness, disobedience, or a misdemeanour detrimental to the unity of the family. He does it usually in a fit of anger or exasperation, as one would strike a child, and not as a deliberate punishment. For though Tallensi think that such disciplinary measures are right and necessary sometimes (women being kittle cattle, who will not always listen to reason), they consider them to be a regrettable and undignified necessity not entirely in keeping with the relationship of marriage, and at bottom repugnant to a self-respecting man. That is why when a quarrel between husband and wife ends in blows, neighbours hearing the commotion rush in to separate the pair and calm the enraged husband. 'I often scold my wives', said a Tale friend to me, after a heated argument with one of them, 'but I have never, as I sit here, lifted a hand to them. How could I thrash my wife, seeing that she gave up her father and her mother to come and marry me?' To beat a wife, in short, shows a poor appreciation of her.

Women admit the right of a man to strike his wife, and they see it as a feature of the authority over her conferred on him by marriage. But in fact, cases of wife-beating are far from common. Judging by the cases I have heard of, they are least likely to occur at the two extremes of the marriage cycle. A young man fears that he may lose his wife if he beats her; an older man, as the statement quoted above shows, with a wife of long standing, feels that it is incompatible with their mutual trust and comradeship.

593 A woman will not, as a rule, bear a grudge for blows struck under provocation. But if she is excessively, or, in her opinion, unjustifiably
627 thrashed, she will run away from her husband. She may go off with another man; or she may return to her father or brother, who, if he is a self-respecting man, will take her part and refuse to give her up until her husband apologizes and promises better behaviour in future. In any case, it is a troublesome affair for the husband. It is worth noting, also, that in her conjugal family only a woman's husband has the right

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to strike her. Her parents-in-law, for instance, despite their authority over her, would not do so. If anything, they would try to restrain their son from beating her. Only her husband has that combination of authority and intimacy in relation to her which permits the use of physical force upon her.

But flight is not the only weapon a woman has in order to maintain her rights and privileges in her conjugal family. Once she is fairly free from the leading strings of her mother-in-law, she is the mistress of her time and energies. It is an accepted axiom of married life, which no man questions, that a wife is free to dispose of her time as she pleases, provided she does not hamper the essential economic activities of the household, or neglect her children, or remain away from home for unwarrantable periods or at times—e.g. during the Great Festivals—when all the members of the family should be together. The routine of domestic tasks, over which men have no control, is a strong line of defence against the interference of men in their wives' disposal of their time. But differences of opinion on this matter are a common cause of squabbles between husband and wife. A young woman dresses up to go to market; her husband objects, saying that other men will be paying court to her there, or that the children will be left hungry all day; she insists; and a heated argument ensues. Nine times out of ten the woman has her way. Occasionally the husband succeeds in stopping her, by persuasion or by force. It is only at sowing or harvest time, or when, for instance, preparations for an important ceremony are in hand, that a man has full control over his wife's time.

At all times a wife's freedom to arrange her work and her leisure as best suits her may subject her husband to inconvenience. If, at the end of the day, she is too preoccupied or too tired to cook, he can but grumble and go hungry. And if he annoys her she can make a point of being too busy to attend to some want of his or too tired to cook the evening meal. This, men say frankly, is one of the strongest arguments in favour of keeping on good terms with one's wife.

Tallensi regard these utilitarian rights and duties, services and attentions of husband and wife towards each other as a most important feature of marriage. But it is clear that they do not constitute the unique relationship that distinguishes the marriage tie from other social ties of the Tallensi. Thus a woman performs much the same utilitarian services as daughter in her natal home, and as mother, wife, and daughter-in-law in her conjugal home. They are but a part of the whole configuration of co-operation, mutual help, reciprocal services, etiquette, and mutual tolerance that keep the wheels of family life running smoothly. And it is clear, also, that they imply the existence of common interests that create a sense of mutual moral obligation.

This underlying bond of mutual moral obligation is the basic sanction of reciprocity and co-operation in the domestic family. In the case of

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husband and wife, the man is more his wife's physical and spiritual protector than her lord and master. Baŋ of Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra and Nindɔyat of Zubiuŋ-Kpayarayayar had a complicated dispute over an ancient cattle debt. It culminated in blows when Nindɔyat tried to lay hands on Baŋ's wife. That, declared Baŋ, he would not stand for.

A man is responsible for ensuring the beneficence of the ancestor spirits and other mystical powers towards his wife; and that he does this out of a sense of moral duty is evident when his wife gets ill. I well remember two particularly pathetic cases. Baripɛta, a handsome, industrious, intelligent, and popular young man, had one young wife. Shortly after the birth of their child, she was stricken with leprosy. The Tallensi are generally prepared to admit that this disease is incurable by their magico-medical methods. They say that it is contagious to the sufferer's young children. The bodily corruption of the disease disgusts them, and they say that lepers are difficult to live with as they become bitter and vindictive. Baripɛta knew all this as well as anybody else. His wife had become an economic and social burden instead of a helpmate. Yet he continued to cherish her, and, poor though he was, to try treatment after treatment for her, at the cost of many fowls and goats and pence. It is true that a jural principle was involved. As she had contracted the disease in his home under his care, he was responsible for her. He could not return her to her father, for instance. But it was plain from his behaviour and talk that he continued to care for her, with even greater consideration than usual, not out of submission to a customary jural rule but out of a feeling of immediate duty towards and concern for her.

It was the same with Ɔmara. His senior wife fell a victim to leprosy when her eldest children had already reached adulthood. He went to great expense in trying to get her cured. Explaining this to me, he said that, firstly, a sick person's nearest relatives never give up hope of a cure, and secondly, he was her husband, therefore he must try his utmost to save her. If he gave up she would be mortally hurt and might pine away. It was his duty to her and to her children.

The Sexual Relationship as the Corner-stone of Marriage

The moral bond of husband and wife is founded on their sexual relationship, conceived as the means to the end of reproduction. It is this that makes the sexual relationship the corner-stone of marriage.

The simplest proof of the significance of the sexual relationship is the fact that a marriage is not properly consummated until coitus takes place between the partners. This is seen most clearly when a widow remarries. She may be given in marriage to one of her deceased husband's brothers by the head of his effective minimal lineage, or she may be claimed by her deceased husband's brother, and may acquiesce, to begin with. If she has sexual relations with her new husband she becomes his wife, whether or not the formalities of remarriage are completed. If she

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succeeds in avoiding intercourse with him she is not his wife, and may sleep with any other man without fear of being accused of adultery. Cases of this kind are common. A particularly instructive case was that of a wife whom Pal-Zəŋ inherited from his dead brother. As she was pregnant at the time, he did not attempt to sleep with her. She miscarried, but continued to put him off with excuses. The reason for this soon became apparent. An agnatic cousin ('brother' in native terminology) of Zəŋ's was living with him, who, being half blind, spent most of the day at home. This gave him the opportunity of ingratiating himself with the woman, and he became her lover. Though Zəŋ was indignant at the humiliation put upon him, and obviously burning with jealousy, he could do nothing about the affair. For it was not incest, as Zəŋ's marriage with the woman had never been consummated.

It follows from this rule that a woman cannot refuse to cohabit with her husband. It sometimes happens that a girl is given in marriage by her father to a man whom she does not like, and that she takes up this line of resistance. The husband then has the right to thrash her or to use other forms of force in order to make her yield. The story of how Baŋyɛlib consummated his first marriage is a somewhat ribald instance of this rule. The girl literally fought him off for days. Then one morning, as she was crawling out of their sleeping-room, his brother seized her by the neck and held her as in a vice, caught in the narrow doorway. She was helpless, and Baŋyɛlib, who had purposely stayed in the room, 'mounted her from behind', in the words of one of his brothers who told me the story. Another man I knew, in the same plight, sent to inform his father-in-law. The old man arrived at cockcrow next day in a towering rage and laid an ultimatum before his daughter. He was not going to eat or drink or budge from the door of her room until her husband told him that the marriage was consummated. The girl, weeping with humiliation, yielded immediately to this heartless form of third degree. Tallensi say that if a man has connexion with his wife for the first time in such circumstances she is at once impregnated—a bit of folk-lore that shows how marital cohabitation is felt to be essentially the means to procreation rather than to gratification.

Reciprocally, a man cannot refuse to cohabit with his wife. If he does, she will quarrel bitterly with him and leave him; and she will have the support of her father or guardian in this action. A polygynist must divide his sexual attentions equally among his wives, or else the neglected wives will quarrel with him and with their co-wives. Indeed, men say, somewhat cynically, that more family quarrels arise because of the jealousy (*ŋaar*) of co-wives over the sexual attentions of their common husband than for any other cause. Though a woman cannot prevent her husband from having a clandestine lover, she will resent it as a slight on her sexual attractions if she finds out, and make life uncomfortable for him in revenge.

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Tallensi speak of these two sins against the marriage bond with genuine horror. During my second tour in Taleland, Maankye and his wife died within a few days of each other. Men of the family told me that this was the retribution justly visited on them for having fought with stirring-stick and bow but refusing to part. Such breaches of the marital bond might conceivably provoke a man to 'blow on' his wife, but I have never heard of an actual case. More probably she would be handed over to the lineage elders, to be sent back by them to her father.

Incidentally, the prohibition against keeping a wife who wets the sleeping-mat at night obviously belongs to this class of offences against the marriage bond, though, being involuntary, it is less heinous than the others. The real mystical danger to the husband is that a black ant might crawl through the woman's urine and then sting him. To disgust at the physical fouling of the nuptial bed in this infantile manner, so out of keeping with adulthood, is added fear of the magical consequences of the sexual maladjustment represented by the condition. But here again, in the few cases I know of, the woman was returned to her father through the elders of the husband's lineage.

It should be added that a wife's refusal to allow her husband to have coitus with her on a particular occasion is not regarded as a denial of his rights. This is one of the ways in which a woman gets her own back if she is vexed with her husband. And it would be very uncouth for the man to try to force her to yield to him. 'He coaxes her, until she at last gives him the vagina (*zaŋ pɛn tiu*)', my men friends told me.

The Sexual Rights of the Husband and the Corporate Interests of his Clan

A man has exclusive sexual rights over his wife, as we have said. If any other man has relations with her this is either incestuous or adulterous, and a serious wrong against the husband himself and his effective minimal lineage, section, or clan, according to the structural relations of the husband's and the seducer's effective minimal lineage, section, or clan.

To appreciate the significance of this we must recollect that a woman marries an individual, but marries *into* a lineage and clan. Men, and even women and children, of a clan or lineage speak of the wives of its members as 'our wives (*ti pɔŋaba*)'. If a man sees the wife of a clansman trying to sneak away in flight from her husband, he will take it on himself to bring her back home by force if necessary. If a man's wife is seduced or abducted by a member of another clan, any of his clansmen will take reprisals, if they get a chance, by seducing or abducting the wife of a member of the offending clan. There were many fights in the old days, as we have learnt, between clans because the wife of one clan was abducted by a member of the other.

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readily consents to another daughter's marrying into the same joint family; and this cordiality is easily extended to more distant clansmen on both sides. A Tenzugu man who has a son-in-law at Zubiuŋ with whom his relations are cordial will be pleased to see another daughter marry this son-in-law or one of his close agnates; and if the son-in-law himself or a member of his medial lineage comes to seek the hand of a daughter of the father-in-law's medial lineage, the men of that lineage would be favourably disposed to the suitor.

Another factor favouring successive marriages with women of the same lineage or clan is the preference of the natives for wives from a nearby rather than a distant clan. A man looking for an additional wife tends to turn his eyes first to the same neighbouring settlements in which he formerly sought a wife, and men of the same lineage tend to seek wives in the same settlements, as we shall find.

When co-wives refer to one another as 'sisters' they are using a kinship term in a metaphorical sense to indicate their social equivalence—that is, their identity of role and status in their conjugal home and settlement. But if they are kin they speak of one another as 'sisters' in a deeper sense. They have a bond of mutual attachment that holds independently of their relations as wives of the same man or the same lineage. As 'sisters' in the kinship sense they help each other more regularly and more altruistically; they share such things as foodstuffs and firewood more readily; they mother each other's children with more devotion and with a greater feeling of common interest in them; they live together more harmoniously, in general, than unrelated co-wives. This is especially true of a woman and a co-wife whom she has 'fetched in' as the term *poyasoog*, literally a *soog* sister wife (that is, a wife who is like a *soog* sister to another wife), suggests. The older woman watches over the younger almost as if she were a younger full sister or her own daughter.

Tallensi take it for granted that co-wives are apt to quarrel. 'Oh yes', both men and women say with a laugh, if they are asked about it, 'co-wives quarrel—but nevertheless they stay on.' The point is that quarrels between co-wives are taken as a matter of course and do not lead to a wife's desertion. These quarrels may be nothing more than the flaring up of frayed tempers; for among the Tallensi, as among ourselves, people who live so intimately together as the members of a family are prone to fall out over trifles. Or they may be real fights, beginning with taunts and insults and ending with blows. Neighbours, usually men of the husband's lineage, hearing the uproar, may rush in to separate the women, if the husband himself or other men of his family are not on the spot to do so. For there is no one among the women of a household with authority to discipline the others. The senior mistress of the home, whether she is the mother or the senior wife of the owner of the house, ranks above the rest of the women, but has no disciplinary authority over them.

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595 ●578 According to the natives, quarrels between co-wives are often due to one or other of them having an intractable disposition. Men add that women lack self-control and are very prone to petty jealousy; they are apt to quarrel if they think they are being unfairly treated, if, for instance, one wife seems to receive more than a fair share of her husband's attention. But when actual cases of such quarrels are examined they are seen to be an expression of the tensions springing from the cleavages in the structure of the domestic family. They are temporary disturbances of the balance between the relatively autonomous matri-central *dug* and the inclusive patri-central *yir*. That is why they occur so rarely between women who are related by kinship or clanship, and who therefore think of their *dugɔt* as subdivisions of a single wider *dug*. Co-wives live in harmony as long as they act in the interests of the common *yir*; dissensions arise between them when they do not accept the paramountcy of the *yir*, and assert their relative autonomy in relation to one another. In the normal run of family life the interests of the common *yir* come first, for the sustenance of the family and the general welfare of all its members depend upon proper co-operation between them, resting on mutual loyalty and goodwill.

595 462 241 The women of the household, both those who are co-wives to one another, and those who are mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, or mother and daughter to one another, usually work together harmoniously to perform their share of the productive labour of agriculture. They work under the direction of the head of the house, and the products of their labour accrue to the common food supply. This is a part of the co-operative economic organization of the household. Thus at sowing or harvest time one often sees a whole family working together in the fields. When a sowing party is at work one sees the men striding vigorously ahead, dibbling the holes with their long heavy dibbles cut from saplings, while the women follow behind, chattering and laughing amicably as they sow the grain. And when the harvest is in full swing, one sees similar cheerful family parties out on the field or homeward bound at dusk in Indian file, the men in front, perhaps carrying their pear-shaped wicker coops in which they have collected a brood of chickens that had been allowed to run in the fields during the day, the women sauntering close behind them, the heavy baskets of grain on their heads, and small boys and girls gambolling in the rear blowing [534] their whistles and shaking their rattles (*kiykayah*) of serrated calabash disks.

595 The independence of the *dug* comes out in the utilization of the food-supply. As the women have to supply the vegetables for cooking the relish which the natives regard as an indispensable accompaniment to their heavy porridge, each woman who has her own *dug* is entitled to a vegetable patch beside the wall of the homestead. Except for the senior woman of the house, who has a slightly larger vegetable patch

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resignation that was touching in the circumstances, that he missed his mother dreadfully. When she was alive, he explained, he never went to bed hungry. She always had something for him to eat even in the leanest times. But nowadays he often slept hungry; for his other 'mothers' had their own children to think of; in times of scarcity they would put aside extra food for their own children but not for him. At best he might get the scraps.

The genealogical and social differentiation of a woman and her children from every other woman and her children of the same domestic family is the kernel of the notion of uterine (*soog*) descent. The cultural definition of this notion gets its psychological content, its meaning for the individual, from the relations of mother and child and co-wife to co-wife.

To every woman, therefore, her own children are the most complete incarnation of her own social self, of her autonomy and status in the family, and of the differentiation of her *dug* from those of her co-wives. That is what the concept *soog* means for a mother in relation to her children. Emotionally wrapped up in them as she is, she becomes almost anarchical in her concern for their welfare. There are women who resent it strongly if a co-wife scolds one of their children; and it is quite common for a woman to get into a fury if her child is struck by a co-wife's child, let alone by a co-wife herself. Many quarrels between co-wives begin in this way. That is why children are taught to keep out of their mothers' co-wives' rooms as much as possible and to behave carefully if they go into them.

The ever-present tension between co-wives, reduced to a minimum at most times, occasionally bursts out acutely. This is liable to happen if a child gets ill of a malady that defies all attempts to cure it, the more so if it is an unusual sickness of sudden onset. The distracted mother is likely then to turn on a co-wife (another wife of her husband, or a wife of one of his brothers) whose own children are well and happy and therefore the bitterest reminder of her evil fortune. Being co-wives the women are sure to have had differences and even quarrels in the past. So now the sick child's mother accuses her co-wife of being a witch (*sɔi*) and of having caused the illness of the child. Infrequent as accusations of witchcraft were in former days and are now, Tallensi say that most of them were made by women against a co-wife owing to the illness or death of a child. This is the more significant in view of the association between witchcraft and uterine descent. An accusation of witchcraft brands a woman and her children equally, but it does not impugn the male line or, consequently, the *yir*.

When hostility between co-wives reaches this pitch it cannot but result in a serious disturbance of the unity and cohesion of the family. Formerly, as we have learnt, the accused woman might have been compelled to undergo the arrow ordeal, or would herself, backed by her

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paternal kin and more strongly by her uterine kin (*saarət*), insist on doing so. If she survived, she and her children and other *soog* kin would never forgive her accuser. There would be chronic friction in the family. If she died, her children and other *soog* kin would still resent the imputation against them and would have a lifelong grievance against her accuser and her children. The accuser would in any case bear the ritual blame, and would be in danger of mystical retribution. Nowadays, to judge by one case that came to my notice, the accused woman and her kin insist on an oath by the *bɔyar*, usually the *bɔyar* of the husband's medial lineage. Both women swear to the justice of their case before the *bɔyar*, and the one who suffers a serious misfortune soonest—a misfortune such as grave sickness or death in her own *dug* of the house—is deemed to be in the wrong. Whatever the outcome, it amounts to one member of the family invoking the *bɔyar* which watches over the welfare of the whole group to injure another member of the unit; and this is a sacrilege, even if it is done in the name of justice. It must be atoned for by sacrifices to which both women and their husband (or husbands) have to contribute. But the *bɔyar* is never wholly appeased; it may still bring misfortune on the family for the sacrilege. And, of course, both women and their *soog* kin might continue to harbour resentment. An accusation of witchcraft, itself the symptom of the conflicts latent in the structure of the polygamous family, breeds endless discord.

But it must be emphasized that such cases are rare. For the most part women rub along pretty well with their co-wives. In this the senior wife (*pɔyakpeem*)—seniority being reckoned according to order of marriage—may exercise a great deal of influence, especially if, as is likely, she is older than the others. Though she has no disciplinary authority over her younger co-wives, she has considerable moral authority over them. As her husband's closest confidante among his wives she knows all the affairs of the family and has its interests close at heart. She stands for the common allegiance of the wives to their husband and the family. A wise and tactful senior wife will keep an eye on the household economy and on the children without seeming to interfere with the liberty of her younger co-wives. Looking up to her with respect and affection, her younger co-wives will accept advice and guidance from her that does much to make the routine of family life smooth and pleasant. The fiction that she is the real mistress of the house (*dugdaana*) and that all the children 'belong' to her in a special sense gives her a formal status that makes this easier. If a suitor calls to see a girl of the family he must pay his respects to the senior wife before he goes to greet the girl's own mother. If a woman's son-in-law sends her gifts of sweet potatoes, yams, and guinea-fowls at the time of the Harvest Festival, she will call all her co-wives proudly to see the gifts, and will distribute some of the tubers among them; but in addition the senior wife will receive a guinea-fowl as a mark of special honour. In such ways is the mistress of the

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house apprised of what is going on in the quarters of the younger women and enabled to exercise benevolent supervision over them.

Her supervision is of special importance when any of the younger women is confined. She sees to it that mother and child are properly attended, that the rites of confinement and of emergence from seclusion are properly performed, that mother and babe are bathed in the prescribed way, and that the mother is given nourishing food. I was passing Ɔmara's homestead one afternoon, about a fortnight after the birth of a child to one of his wives, and called in. The new baby's mother was just coming out of the gateway with an empty water-pot on her head, and I noticed that she was looking far from well. Ɔmara's senior wife, a woman of sterling character, unsoured even by the leprosy that was rapidly getting a hold on her, was sitting outside in the shade. 'Where are you going to?' asked the older woman. 'To the water-hole,' replied her young co-wife. 'Don't go alone,' said the senior wife, 'I'll come with you'; and she rose to accompany the girl. For the first few weeks after the birth of her child a woman must not go about alone outside the homestead. She is still suffering from 'the dreams of a parturient woman (*ɲɔŋarɔŋah za'ahug*)'; that is, she is weak and liable to hallucinations or attacks of terror—or, as the natives think of it, to attacks from evil trees and stones—which might drive her mad. That was why the older woman accompanied the young mother. Many such incidents could be quoted in illustration of the concern shown by a senior wife for the welfare of her juniors.

Of course, not all senior wives exercise their role in a wise and unselfish spirit. A woman with an overbearing disposition may make life difficult for her juniors. One result will be that each woman tends to keep strictly to her own *dug* so as to avoid clashing with the senior wife or the other women, and co-operation between co-wives tends to follow the letter of convention rather than the spirit of family unity. Again, there are families in which the senior wife has through age, infirmity, or weakness of character resigned the effective supervision of the household to a younger co-wife, though she still remains the titular senior. But observation shows that on the whole senior wives conform to the pattern we have outlined above. Their position in the family, their responsibilities and privileges, shape them to this pattern.

It must be remembered, also, that the size and stage of development of a family have a great influence on the relations between co-wives. In a family like that of Da'amo'o of Tɔŋ-Dekpieŋ who has but recently set up in his own homestead, there are only three women, two being Da'amo'o's wives and the third his younger brother's wife. They are all young women round about the age of 20, two with an infant each and the other still a maiden (*ɲɔŋasarɔt*). In such a family the differentiation of *dug* from *dug* is rudimentary. The three girls work in co-operation and live together harmoniously like sisters and with no visible distinction

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The economic self-differentiation is both a sign of his psycho-

logical and social self-differentiation from his father and a stimulus to it. 866
Naturally it results in conflict at times.[1] For example, Kpana-Tee took 593
his grandson, a boy of about 14, to live with him because the boy had 578
quarrelled with his father, Kpana-Tee's oldest son, who was farming on his own in one of the peripheral settlements. The youngster had two hens which he had bred from a hen given to him by his *alɔb*. He wanted to sell one in order to buy a loin-cloth for the Gɔlib Festival. His father said this was extravagance and forbade it. But the boy, supported by his mother, insisted that he could do what he liked with his 'things' (*bon*). This angered his father so much that he thrashed him. Thereupon the boy ran away to his grandfather, who took his part, and told him not to go back home for the present. As a man grows older the chances of such conflicts due to the clash between paternal authority and filial self-determination increase and are only kept in check by the sanctions of filial piety.

The process of incipient self-differentiation at this stage is distinctive 866
of boys. It does not occur with girls before pubescence. Until that stage 593
their relations with their parents continue to have a more childish stamp than is the case with their brothers. Whereas a 10-year-old boy would be ashamed to be found hanging round his mother when she is busy in the kitchen, a 10-year-old girl still enjoys sitting among the infants listening to her father in conversation with other men at the *zanʒɛ*. One notices that little girls of about this age are more quiet and docile than boys. Attached as they are to their mothers, they do not yet show that diffidence towards their fathers in public which another two or three years will bring. They do not feel the weight of the father's authority yet, beyond the ordinary discipline he exercises over their manners and habits. But there is a rapid change as they get nearer to puberty and at the same time become more proficient in women's work and more absorbed in the social world of the women. A 12-year-old girl shows more respect to her father in public than her brother does. Like her mother she will always stoop or crouch to greet a male visitor of her father's or when she is offering her father food. With her mother she is to all appearances on intimate and friendly, almost sisterly, terms. She may still be sleeping with her mother, especially if the latter is past child-bearing age.

Between the age of about 7 and the beginning of pubescence at about 593
12 to 14 years of age, the pattern of parent–child relations crystallizes 867
out in the form it will have for the rest of the child's life. Proxy parents and classificatory parents are correctly discriminated and set in proper relation to own parents. Kinship sentiments are finally formed.

[1] But this is not associated with overt signs of 'adolescent instability', nor is there an institutionalized group revolt of adolescents against the generation of the fathers. Cf. my previously cited Memorandum.

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CHAPTER VIII

TENSIONS IN THE PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

Rivalry between Parents and Children

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PERHAPS the most extraordinary feature of Tale parents' relations with their children is the recognition, in custom and belief, of the latent antagonism behind their mutual identification and comradeship, their devotion and co-operation. We have already had some glimpses of this. A psycho-analyst might say that the Oedipus complex is apparently openly recognized in Tale culture. He would have to add that it is built into their social organization in such a way as to enable them to control it. The mystical ideas and ritual symbols in which the rivalry between successive generations is clothed form the cultural mechanism by which it is neutralized and made to serve socially useful ends.

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We have discussed the taboos observed by first-born children among the Namoos in our previous book. We showed there[1] that the distinguishing mark of all Namoo clans as opposed to non-Namoo clans is the observance of these taboos. Among all Namoos a man's first-born son and daughter may not eat the domestic fowl, may not wear any of their father's garments or his quiver, or look into his granary during his lifetime. The latter taboos are connected with the fact that a man's clothes and quiver and granary are intimately identified with his social personality. As the natives put it, a man's clothes and quiver are imbued with his bodily exuviae from constant contact with his body, while his granary is associated with his unique status in the patricentral family. It is easy to see that these possessions are peculiarly apt symbols of a man's social self. It is not surprising, therefore, that though these taboos are not formally observed by non-Namoos analogous usages with the same symbolic significance occur among them.

In our previous book we studied the significance of these taboos as quasi-totemic symbols in the system of inter-clan relations; but they have other dimensions of meaning as well, like all Tale customs and ideas that give expression to fundamental elements in their social organization. For they go back to deep and universal tendencies in human psychology. These taboos have a particular meaning in the contemporary structure of Tale society as symbols of corporate units; but underlying this is the deeper meaning they have in the relations of successive generations and for the individual himself in the conduct of his life.

We are concerned here with these latter aspects of their meaning. We cannot attempt to unravel all that lies behind them, but their super-

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, chs. v and viii.

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ficial symbolism is transparent. What they mean is that a child may not be equated with his or her father while he is alive. As we have observed, though these taboos do not occur among non-Namoos, the ideas and sentiments they express are as frankly admitted by them as by Namoos. It was a Tenzugu (Talis) man who gave me the clearest statement I obtained on the struggle between the Destinies (*Yina*) of father and son. I remember also being struck by this during the ceremony of exorcising the evil Predestiny of Sinkawol of Kpata'ar's wife. Just as the most important rite of all was begun somebody noticed that Tiezien, Sinkawol's proxy father, was absent. Nyaaŋzum, Sinkawol's proxy grandfather and Tiezien's proxy father, shouted for Tiezien to come out of the homestead. Tiezien shouted back, in some anger, 'No, I won't come. They are exorcising my daughter-in-law's *Yin* and I should be there? Oh no. Is she your (plural) wife or mine? No, it is not for me to be there.' There was a moment's pause and then Nyaaŋzum called back, 'Well, leave it then, you are right.' The point was that a man must not equate himself with his son, particularly where the latter's procreative status is concerned. But grandfather and grandson are equated with each other, as we shall see more fully later. And by the same principle a woman must not be equated with her daughter in her reproductive capacity. Thus when a man's daughter becomes a mother for the second or third time he gives up sleeping with her mother even if she is still of child-bearing age. Tallensi call this an important taboo. It is significant also that among both Namoos and non-Namoos an analogous taboo to that of the father's granary holds between a mother and her first-born daughter. While her mother is alive a girl may not uncover her mother's chief storage-pot (*u pu sugəl u ma doko*). This taboo is not stressed so much as those that discriminate a child from its father, as might be expected in a society so thoroughly organized around the patrilineal line. But it does show that the tension between the generations among the Tallensi is not the product of *patria potestas* only, but arises out of the whole network of the relations between parents and children.

The avoidances of first-born children are not the only customary expression of the tension between the generations. A man and his oldest child do not eat together. 'You and your oldest child do not dip your fingers into the same dish of food together,' the natives say, 'for if you did perhaps his finger-nail might scratch you and that would bring misfortune on both of you.' This prohibition is not subject to ritual sanctions, though the misfortune that would follow the symbolic act of aggression would be of a mystical character. Tallensi share a dish with the youngest child for preference; and it is not an uncommon sight to see a man eating with his youngest child while his oldest son is sitting near by eating separately.

Then there are the restrictions we have already mentioned that must be

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observed at funeral ceremonies by anyone who has a parent of the same sex as the deceased still living. Similarly an oldest son may not deputize for his father in making sacrifices to an ancestor shrine which is in the latter's custody; 'he is too near to inheriting the shrine', the Tallensi say. The implication is that if an oldest son deputizes for his father in relation to the ancestors he is anticipating his inheritance and this is tantamount to wishing his father dead. Even during the interval between the mortuary rites and the final funeral ceremony of a dead father it is his younger sons who make sacrifices in his name to the ancestor shrines that were in his possession and will be inherited by the oldest son.

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All these customs indicate how strongly the Tallensi feel that there is an underlying rivalry between parents and children that must not be allowed to drive a wedge between them. While his parent (particularly his father) is alive, a child (particularly a son) must not act in any way that suggests a desire to usurp the parent's place; and this holds vice versa for the parent too, as the incident between Tiezien and Nyaaŋzum shows. It is implicit in the Tale concept of incest. It can be summed up in the formula that father and son may not take each other's place in the procreative relationship, which is the fundamental relationship defining their positions in society relatively to each other; but this principle is extended to all social relations of father and son, particularly the first-born son. Tallensi state this quite openly, and it is worth quoting what Yarəg of Gbizug, who is not a Namoo, said to me once in this connexion. There had been a ceremony the previous night at which the Gbizug tɛndaana had been represented by one of his younger sons. I asked Yarəg why he did not sometimes deputize for the tɛndaana in these ceremonies, for surely he knew more about the rites than his younger classificatory brothers? 'No', he replied, 'that is impossible. I am like the tɛndaana's oldest son, for my father was his full (*soog*) brother; I cannot put on his cap and skin and perform these rites for him. We are Talis and it is not a taboo for us, but it would not be right, it would not be seemly.'

We have seen that the undercurrent of rivalry is most apparent in the relations of father and son. Marriage removes a daughter from the arena of possible conflict with her parents and her social role does not create interests and motives that bring her into competition with either of her parents. She cannot take the place of either her father or her mother. Removal from their control has the effect, if anything, of strengthening her uterine tie with her mother and her lineage tie with her father. The first-born daughter is associated with the first-born son in these taboos by the principle of sibling equivalence.[1] She is the first-born child of her sex, and stands for the filial generation as much as her brother does. It is their first child, whether it be son or daughter, that makes a married couple into parents. Moreover, we must not forget the Tale maxim that

[1] This principle is discussed in Ch. X below.

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she might have been a son but for the accident of birth. A son's situation is entirely different, as we have shown in the preceding chapters. He remains a member of his parental family all his life. He does eventually take the place of his father in the life of the community and could be suspected of wanting to hurry on the day when this will happen. His desire for independence is liable, as we have seen, to run counter to his father's plans and demands. Every advance in his social and economic development might be interpreted as an added threat to his father's dominance. He will not be his own master until he has no father. The very principle of reciprocity which plays such an important part in their economic co-operation conceals mutual jealousy about property. And the social cleavage between his generation and his father's is emphasized by the wider context of fatherhood. A man's father's brothers, who are identified with his father both by generation and by birth, stand between him and his full independence as his father's heir. Even after his own father's death they retain authority over him. As we have seen, the cleavage between successive generations usually comes to a head more decisively with a proxy father than with one's own father.

Tallensi themselves make no bones about the matter. 'Your oldest son is your rival (*I bikpeem a i dataa*)', the men say bluntly. I have heard this phrase used by both Namoos and non-Namoos from every part of the country. 'Look at my oldest son', an elder once said to me. 'He would not care if I should die to-morrow. Then he would inherit all my possessions, he would own the *zɔŋ* and he could take his ease. The things connected with an oldest son are hard (*bikpeem ycla ntɔ*).'

This candour in fathers is not matched by their sons, who never admit the rivalry. They laugh it off as 'an affair of custom (*de ycl nla*)', or simply say that it is a ritual matter, a taboo (*kihɔr*) like any other taboo that one accepts without questioning. And they generally launch out, with obvious sincerity, into the kind of panegyric on the advantages of having a father that has been previously quoted (p. 172). This is as one might expect, for it is the fathers who feel the threat to their dominance; and they feel it the more strongly as they grow older and their powers decline.

The taboos of first-born children begin to be enforced in early childhood. By the age of 7 or 8 a child takes them as seriously as his parents.[1] But it is only after the son is married and has a growing family, when the father is getting on in years, that the opposition symbolized in ritual observances emerges as an opposition in practical life. It coincides with the son's increased striving to free himself from his father's economic control. This is expressly symbolized, among all the Tallensi, in a taboo which the first-born son begins to observe about the time he gets married. He and his father must not meet face to face in the gateway of their common homestead. This taboo is as scrupulously observed as

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 125.

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593 578 the other taboos of first-born children. Its meaning is plain if we bear in mind what the gateway and the *zʊŋ* symbolize in the structure of the family and the lineage.[1] Significantly enough, a first-born daughter does not observe it.

Eventually, when the son's older children are reaching adolescence, the opposition between his father and himself culminates in his formal separation from his parental family. We have noticed before that fission in the joint family is basically due to structural and economic factors. In the case of an eldest son's hiving off, Tallensi say that it is often brought about by the jealousies of the womenfolk. The son's wife or wives complain that they are not getting a fair deal in the distribution of food-supplies in the joint family. They are always nagging at their husband on that account. So when a son 'goes out on his own (*yi u kɔkɔ*)' natives say it is in order the better to support his wives and children. But the separation is actually due as much to the relations between the man and his father as to the purely economic causes. It is an instance of the convergence and congruence of structural principles and economic necessities.

593 578 884 Most commonly an eldest son separates off formally by cutting a new gateway for himself in the family homestead. The native phrase is *bit u zanʊr* ('slit his gateway'), and it describes precisely what happens. The wall of the homestead is cut through so as to make an extra gateway leading into the son's quarters. Though he and his wife and children will very often use the main gateway, he is by status the owner of his own subsidiary gateway and cannot formally clash with his father. At the same time he achieves a considerable measure of economic independence. He will have his own bush farm and small home farm and be responsible for providing the bulk of the food required by his wife and children. But he still helps his father and younger brothers with their farm work, and receives some food-supplies from his father in return if his own supplies are insufficient for his needs. Sometimes, however, an eldest son moves out altogether. His father may let him build a homestead on a bush farm belonging to the family, or he may migrate to one of the peripheral settlements. As we have seen, it usually takes a few years for a son to achieve this step. I have heard young men who were pressing their claims for a separate gateway express impatience with an obstinate old father and even resentment against his apparent tyranny. But when the parting comes it is usually amicable, and father and son continue to be on excellent and intimate terms thereafter. The son is still under his father's final authority in jural and ritual matters.

593 578 777 *The Native Theory of the Tension between the Generations*

Tallensi explain the rivalry between father and son by means of the

[1] Cf. Ch. III above.

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mystical concept of the *Yin* or personal Destiny.[1] There is, they say, an inborn antagonism between the *Yin* of a father and the *Yin* of his eldest son. While the son is still young his *Yin* is weak, but as he grows older his *Yin* grows more powerful and wants to make him master of his own affairs. The son's *Yin* wants to destroy the father's *Yin*; but the father's *Yin* desires the father to live and be well and remain master of the house. It wishes to continue to receive sacrifices from the father. Therefore it will try to destroy the son's *Yin*, and if it is the stronger *Yin* it will cause misfortune and perhaps death to the son. That is the reason why father and son must avoid meeting in the gateway of the homestead and why it is better for them to separate, after the son has reached a stage of maturity when his *Yin* begins to be as powerful as his father's. In the same way an oldest daughter's evil Predestiny (*Yinbe'er*) is a threat to her mother's life and health. When Sinkawol's wife was waiting for her evil Predestiny to be exorcised she was not allowed to go and visit her sick mother for fear that her *Yinbe'er* might cause her mother to get worse.

To appreciate the profundity of this interpretation we need to understand the Tale notion of *Yin*. It is one of the most difficult of their religio-psychological ideas to translate into our categories of thought. Indeed, it is not a precise notion but, like all Tale ritual ideas, a configuration of mutually overlapping ideas, beliefs, and values.

Yin is the shortened form of *Naawun* or *Naayin*, the Tale term which can best be translated as Heaven. But whereas *Naawun* is concerned with all mankind, each person's *Yin* belongs uniquely to that person. It is the symbol of his individuality, of what makes his life history different in his own eyes from that of every other person. If he falls ill he is enduring something that is the common human lot, and he tries to cope with his illness by the same measures that anybody else would take. But, he asks himself, why should he have fallen ill just at this time and not his brother or somebody else, for instance. When he kills an animal in the hunt, or buys a cow, or marries, or has a child he goes through experiences that every man has, and his social personality takes on attributes that are part of the social personality of every man of about the same stage of social maturity. Yet they are his own private experiences. They form part of the unique continuity of his personal development. None of them was inevitable. They are due to the intervention of chance in his life; or, as the Tallensi believe, to the action of the mystical agencies that dictate the course of human life.

These, very briefly, are the ideas, as nearly as one can translate them into our modes of thought, behind the Tale notion of *Yin*. It is a mystical notion because their ideas of causality are couched in a ritual idiom and are rooted in ritual beliefs; and it serves several ends. Tallensi do not

[1] *Cf. Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 144, for a discussion of this concept from a different angle.

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conceive of the inner life of the individual as a distinct phenomenon apart from the external, material, and social facts of his life. But they understand clearly that each person is unique as an individual. The notion of *Yin* is the means by which they visualize the connexion between the material and social facts of the person's life and his individuality. It enables them, also, to see a tendency and a determinism in the life of the individual by reference to which they make the intervention of chance intelligible and emotionally tolerable.

A person's Destiny has various aspects, some or all of which may emerge in the course of his life. There is, first of all, his Predestiny (*nuor Yin*, the *Yin* of the mouth). This is the fate the individual has preordained for himself before birth. In his pre-natal state he 'spoke when he was with Heaven above (*u daa vɔlɔm Naayin zugni*)'. Both men and women have this *Yin*; and it is this *Yin* that sometimes manifests itself as an evil *Yin* (*Yinbe'er*), when the individual is pursued by chronic bad luck in the important things of life—things like health, marriage, parenthood. He (or she) had declared before birth that he does not want to have parents or children or a spouse or any of the good things of life. A child suffering from an evil Predestiny is constantly ailing; a man so afflicted cannot find a wife or is deserted by every wife he marries; or he loses his children one after the other in infancy; or he is for ever having bad crops or losing his livestock; and a woman with a *Yinbe'er* loses her children one after another in infancy, or her husband, or perhaps she herself gets ill of some wasting disease. Moreover, this ill luck that haunts the unwitting sufferer is also a constant danger to his family. A child's evil *Yin* may cause the death of a parent or a sibling; a man's or woman's evil *Yin* spoils the life of his or her spouse, children, and parents as well as his or her own life. The evil *Yin* symbolizes all the subterranean animosities and aggression latent in the relations of members of the joint family with one another. The cure is a ritual exorcism, carried out by the maximal or medial lineage of the sufferer, but this is not always successful.

If a woman's Predestiny is harmless or beneficent it remains latent, as it were. It is not objectified in any way as she has no ritual status.[1] Her *Yin* is subordinate to and submerged in her father's or her husband's *Yin*. But a man's Predestiny, if it is beneficent, may declare itself to him, usually after adolescence, but occasionally before. Thus a young man may kill an animal in the hunt and this will declare itself, through a diviner, to be the vehicle of his *nuor Yin*, and demand that he dedicate a shrine to it.

[1] Women have no *Yin* or other ancestor shrines as they have no independent relationship with the ancestors. This is a reflex of their status in Tale society as jural and ritual minors who do not play a part in maintaining the continuity of the society or the equilibrium of the body politic independently of their relationship to their fathers or husbands.

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But a man's most important *Yin* is that with which certain of his ancestors are associated. This too may come to him in childhood, though it does so more commonly in early manhood. Usually it manifests itself to him through an accident or a coincidence. Thus a young man falls ill shortly after he has bought a new hoe or killed an animal in the hunt. The diviners then declare that his illness was caused by his *Yin*; his ancestors so and so, and so and so, are thus revealing themselves as his *Yin*; the hoe or the animal is their vehicle; they brought illness on him because they demand that he should accept them as his *Yin* and sacrifice to them. The young man will then build a shrine dedicated to these ancestors placing the skull of the animal or the blade of the hoe on it, and will henceforth sacrifice to them on this shrine. This is his first and most intimately personal shrine, and it plays an enormous part in his life thereafter. As far as his own personal affairs are concerned, it will always be his most important link with his ancestors. It is through his *Yin* that they exercise the most direct influence upon his life and that he seeks to maintain their goodwill specifically for himself. When he becomes head of his joint family he will entrust most of the children born into the family to his *Yin* as spirit guardian. Every important step in his social development will be registered in his relations with his *Yin*; it may be by a special sacrifice, or it may be by a change in the location of the shrine, or the addition of an ancestor to the group of ancestors who have revealed themselves (*naam*) as his *Yin*. A man's *Yin* is both the chart of his life and the helm with which he steers his way through life.

All the ancestors and ancestresses of a man have a potential mystical relevance for his life, but they have the same potential relevance for any of their descendants. His *Yin* ancestors, on the other hand, are concerned exclusively with him, for his own sake, so to speak. They form a particular combination, usually of very recent forebears, who do not belong together in just that grouping for any other of their descendants. They may be patrilateral or matrilateral ancestors or a combination of both lines. Thus a man might have as his *Yin* ancestors his father, father's father, father's father's mother, and her father, while his brother has their father, father's mother, and father's mother's father as his *Yin* ancestors. Of another pair of brothers, one's *Yin* ancestors may be their mother's father, maternal grandfather, and maternal great-grandfather; and the other's might be their mother's mother, her father, and his father (see Fig. 5, page 230).

Thus when a Talɔŋ says that his *Yin* and his eldest son's *Yin* are mutually dangerous, he is saying that his son's successful growth and development into and through manhood is a threat to his authority and primacy in the family, a symbol of the inevitable decline in his physical and mental power that comes with age, and a warning that he must in due course make way for the next generation; and yet it is also the

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crowning achievement of his life, the most significant sign that his *Yin* has prospered him (*maal*) well. The relations of father and son are a balance between their ties of solidarity and mutual identification, which form the central link of the lineage system, and the cleavage due to their belonging to successive generations. Once more we encounter the fundamental

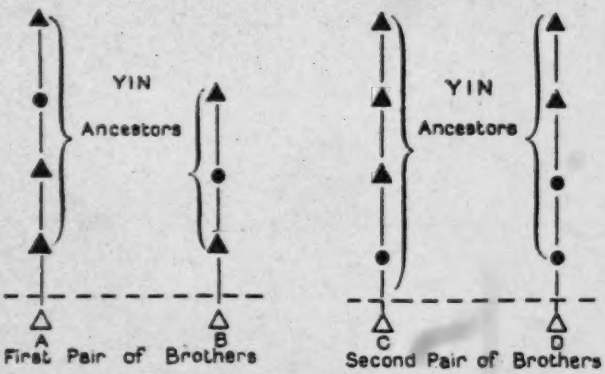

FIG. 5. *Yin* Ancestors.

principle of Tale social organization, that every constellation of social relationships is made up of a polar balance of ties and cleavages.

The Discrimination between Oldest Children and Youngest Children

The cleavage between father and first son obviously plays an important part in the cycle of development of the joint family and lineage. The oldest son's breakaway from the parental home is the first phase of fission of the joint family, and it is not until after his father's death that he and his brothers are likely to become reunited into a single domestic unit.

We have spoken sometimes as if the cleavage between successive generations lay solely between parents and their first-born children, at other times as if it were a gulf between parents and all their children. In practice, tension crops up between a parent and any of his or her adolescent or adult children, but one reason why it is always likely to be sharpest with oldest children is simply because they have gone farthest along the road of social and economic maturity and so symbolize the filial generation most effectively of all the children. Among non-Namoos it does not seem to matter whether the oldest children are first-born or merely the oldest surviving children. Among the Namoos, however, there is the striking peculiarity of their fixing the ritual and affective bar between the generations on the first-born children. If a man's first-born son is dead, and even if he died in infancy, the oldest living son does not assume the taboos of the first-born. The

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tension that develops between a father and his oldest surviving son is never as great as that which occurs between a man and his first-born son. An oldest surviving son may in time begin to farm on his own, but he will very often stay in his father's homestead, for his *Yin* is not a danger to his father's.

Tallensi have no explanation for this. Their only comment is to point to the fact, which can often be observed, that parents discriminate between their older children and their younger children, especially between the oldest and the youngest. Youngest children are the favourites, upon whom they lavish all their tenderness when they have long ceased to make a show of affection for the older children. A man's or a woman's last child (*bikpa'ar*) is the apple of its parent's eye. Tallensi say that a last child is always spoiled and pampered, and therefore grows up to be vain, lazy, and extravagant. Guna'ab was a man of this stamp, and his older brothers explained contemptuously that he had been their mother's *bikpa'ar* and they had been unable to discipline him after their father's death.

Tallensi say that a person's younger children, and in particular the youngest child, feel their dependence on their parents till the last. There is, as in so many aspects of the relations of parents and children, an element of reciprocity in this. For a man's youngest son, for instance, is still farming with him when his oldest son is farming either wholly or partly for himself—'thinking of how to feed his wife and children rather than of his parents', they often say. 'If I die to-day', men have said to me, 'do you think my oldest son will weep? Oh no; but my youngest son, he will shed bitter tears.' There is much truth in this. I have more than once seen a man's youngest son being harshly rated by an older brother for abandoning himself to grief over his father's death. Because older children no longer need their parents' care they do not inspire the same affection as young children. In the eyes of the natives, therefore, the discrimination between youngest and oldest children is a natural result of the process of upbringing. But I have heard women say, also, that a woman's love for her *bikpa'ar* is due to her seeing in him the sign of the end of her reproductive powers.

It is, however, not merely a matter of the vagaries of parental psychology. This discrimination runs deeply into the social structure of the Tallensi. A curious but enlightening indication of this occurs with divining (*bakologo*) shrines. When a diviner dies, the clairvoyant power associated with his shrine sometimes passes on to one of his sons by a process which the Tallensi think of as a kind of mystical contagion (*lɔŋ*). The son who is selected for this privilege is always a younger son. There is more sympathy between father and younger son than between father and oldest son. But the best indication of this is found at funeral ceremonies, where the oldest and the youngest children of the deceased have distinctive mourning duties. The oldest son and oldest daughter,

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as the chief mourners, have the most arduous mourning duties. They have to take part in almost every rite, both by day and by night, and these rites are mystically dangerous to those who participate in them. Hence they have to be carried out very carefully. All the participants must, for instance, observe absolute silence throughout these rites. The youngest son and youngest daughter, on the other hand, wear the *doolun* string as a special emblem of mourning. The *doolun* string is decorated with four cowrie shells for a dead mother and three cowrie shells if the deceased is the mourner's father. The youngest son wears it on his hand, looped about his middle finger in a prescribed fashion; the youngest daughter wears it round the neck and waist and down the back.

The most important of these rites are those which conclude the funeral. The rites differ in content from clan to clan, as we have mentioned in our earlier book,[1] but their symbolism is the same for all clans. Everywhere they symbolize the removal of the social personality of the deceased from the world of the living and his or her incorporation among the ancestors. They symbolize also the emancipation of the children from the control of their living parent and the assumption by the oldest son or daughter of the father's or mother's position in society. This is evident from the rites by which the customs, taboos, and articles which stood for the cleavage between the generations are ritually annulled or transferred to the son or daughter. In the case of a woman, among all the Tallensi, the principal rites are 'the sealing of the store-pot (*bea dok*)' and the sending of the *kumpiog*.

The rite of 'sealing the store-pot' is the only ritual act performed solely by women for a woman. On the last day but one of an old woman's funeral a group of old women, her co-wives, sisters-in-law, and friends, together with her daughters, gather in her sleeping-room. They take one of her large store-pots, put inside it a ladle, a dish, and other articles characteristic of women's activities that belonged to her, and solemnly seal it with a potsherd plastered over with mud and cow-dung. Beer and porridge are offered on the pot to her spirit. Her oldest daughter takes part in these rites, and then the pot is hidden in a place where she is not likely to see it. She may not come near it until it is finally disposed of. Next day the pot is ritually opened by the old women and the oldest daughter, who thus symbolically discards the taboo which she had to observe all her life if she is a first-born, or since her mother's death if she is not. Later the pot is removed from the house and taken by one of the old women. The daughter must never see it again.

At the end of the funeral ceremonies a dead woman's *kumpiog*, the special pot and calabash which stand for her social personality as a woman and mother, is solemnly and extremely carefully carried to her oldest daughter's house and given to her, as we have noted before.

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. viii.

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For a man these final rites are more elaborate and variable. Among the Namoos the high-water mark of the rites is the induction of the first-born son and first-born daughter, if they survive, into those secret and forbidden things which they have avoided since infancy. The first-born son is dressed in his father's cap and smock, turned inside out.[1] A stick with a loop of string, and a piece of hollow bamboo, specially prepared for the occasion and symbolizing the father's bow and quiver, are hung round his neck. Then a procession is formed of all the children of the dead man, his first-born daughter following immediately behind the first-born son and holding on to the smock. An old man leads them round the homestead three times. Then the first-borns are taken inside through their dead father's *zʊŋ*, and are taken up to look into his granary for the first time in their lives. The whole rite is felt by the onlookers to be overwhelmingly solemn and the 'showing of the granary (*paal buur*)' is for them an intensely dramatic moment. A hush comes over the crowd of spectators as the son ascends to the granary and his mentor puts a hand behind his head and pushes it forward so that he peers into this hitherto-forbidden place. The son himself appears quite unperturbed, though this is one of the decisive moments of his life. I have been told by men who have been through this rite that they felt quite calm and collected at the time. But Tallensi are that way, and this is perhaps a sign of the efficacy of their ritual practices.

Among the Talis and other non-Namoos, the parallel rite is that of sending the quiver (*ta'ah loko*) of the dead man to the External *Bʊyar*. When an old man dies, his quiver is hidden in his principal granary by one of the elders and his oldest son and daughter are thereafter forbidden to look into the granary until the end of the funeral ceremonies. 'If they did', a Yinduuri elder once explained to me, 'they would see the spirit of the dead man and die.' Younger sons and daughters are free to look into the granary. This is of particular interest as a parallel to the Namoo taboos; but with the Talis the ritual and affective expression of the tension between father and eldest son is concentrated in the period when its meaning is most significant to the son, the transition period between the extinction of his father's social personality and his assumption of his father's place. For the rite of 'sending the quiver', the 'quiver' (consisting of a real bow and a symbolical quiver exactly like that used by the Namoos) is taken from the granary by the oldest son. Followed by his father's senior surviving wife he is escorted by the clan elders to the External *Bʊyar*. Sacrifices are made to the ancestors and especially to the dead man, who now belongs to the realm of the ancestors, and his 'quiver' is left in the *Bʊyar* in token of his final departure from the world of the living.

We must conclude that the distinction Tallensi make, both in custom

[1] To distinguish the context of death from that of life and to symbolize the reversal of the taboo.

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and in sentiment, between oldest children and youngest children is of more than casual significance. It is as if the two major aspects of parent-child relations are split apart and distributed so as to make them more easily reconcilable. The mutual identification, mutual love and devotion of parents and children are focused in the relations of parents with their youngest children; the cleavage between successive generations is focused in the relations between parents and oldest children; and we can easily see why this is so. For it is the latter who will take the place of the parents on their death, who seem to be standing on the threshold waiting for them to die. The emphasis of the Namoos on first-born children is, as we have noted, due to the fact that it is the first-born child which makes a man and woman parents. Hence, if a first-born dies, its parents have to undergo a special purification rite; and a wife who has not borne a child to her husband does not undergo the purification rites for a widow when he dies. Later children do not change the role and status of a person in the same way; they do not make him or her more of a parent. Nor does the sex of the first-born matter, though the agnatic principle makes a first-born son of greater importance to a man than a first-born daughter. This and the principle of the equivalence of siblings explain why both sons and daughters are subject to the taboos of the first-born among the Namoos.

The Ancestors as Parent Images

The ambivalence in the relations of parents and children is more dramatically expressed in the ancestor cult than in any other aspect of Tale culture. We cannot discuss this at length here. We can only note that there is a direct continuity between the relations of parents and children in life and their relations after the parents' death. The worship of the ancestors is a culturally standardized projection on to the mystical plane of the tangle of attachments, reciprocities, tensions, and submerged antagonisms that bind parents and children to one another in life. Anyone unfamiliar with the speech and customs of the Tallensi would often find it impossible to tell, in some situations, whether a man is speaking of his living father or his dead father. The dead parents are the prototypes of all the ancestors. Distinctions of name and generation conceal the same primary images. This is clear from the fact that no man can sacrifice to an ancestor or ancestress except through the medium of the spirit of the parent who links him to that ancestor or ancestress.

It will not surprise the psychologist, however, to learn that the attributes with which the spirits of the parents are invested differ in some respects markedly from those that are conventionally assumed for living parents. The disciplinary limitations imposed by the demands of economic and social adjustment and by the rationale of reality are no longer operative. The figures of the dead parents are clothed in qualities that are in part highly magnified versions of their most praiseworthy qualities

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in real life and in part distorted reflections of the tensions that exist between parents and children in reality. It is no misrepresentation to describe them as a standardized and highly elaborated picture of the parents as they might appear to a young child in real life—mystically omnipotent, capricious, vindictive, and yet beneficent and long-suffering; but the emphasis is far more on the persecuting than on the protecting attributes. The distortion is most striking in the case of a mother's spirit. All ancestor spirits are apt to reveal themselves more often by the misfortune they inflict than by the benefits they bring. They emerge as sanctions of conduct more by reason of the punishments they bring down on wrongdoers than because of the benefits they confer for right doing. But the spirits of female ancestors are believed to be specially hard, cruel, and capricious. This is remarkable when we consider the love and devotion a mother shows for her child throughout his life. As we have observed elsewhere,[1] there is a never-ending struggle between a man and his ancestors. It is psychologically rooted in the relations of parents and children during the lifetime of the parents. Sacrifices and prayers are reminiscent of the principle of reciprocity in the real relations of parents and children. They contain the same elements of acquiescence, justice, and hidden coercion. They show another aspect, though, in the propitiation, reverence, and gratitude they often express.[2]

We can see why filial piety towards the dead parents is more strongly stressed than towards the living. While he is alive a person's father has direct jural and ritual authority over him; when he dies, the father becomes the paramount sanction of moral conduct for him; and this applies, *mutatis mutandis*, in only a lesser degree to the mother. The oath 'by my father and his goatskin (or sheepskin) and his three cowries' discussed in our previous book[3] is one proof of this. The centre of gravity of the whole social system of the Tallensi is the relationship of father and son, and it is the idea of filial piety that keeps this relationship in balance in the face of all the forces that tend to divide father and son. In this as in other respects the Tallensi are typical of patrilineal and patriarchal societies of simple culture from many parts of the globe, both ancient and modern.

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 145.

[2] As death, among the Tallensi, is always believed to be mystically caused by a particular ancestor spirit or a group of ancestor spirits (material causes such as sickness being recognized as necessary but not sufficient without the mystical adjunct), it follows that a dead father or mother can kill (*ku*) his or her own child. The converse is impossible, since children, in life, have no jurisdiction over parents. I have asked Tallensi if patricide ever occurs or is known to have occurred. My most trusted informants said they had never heard of a case and thought the very idea abhorrent beyond measure. The idea of matricide they considered even more vile and unnatural.

[3] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 66.

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boys are keenly learning the art of courtship and are experimenting with sex. They have sweethearts (*gab*, pl. *gabnam*), most commonly slightly younger girls of the same clan whom they call 'sisters' in the widest sense. These girls may have serious suitors from other clans, but not being quite ripe for marriage find much more pleasure and excitement in their freer relations with their clan 'brothers'. With them they can indulge in sexual play, not always stopping short of intercourse, without criticism. Now when boys go to visit their sweethearts they often like to have the company of a friend (*zɔ*, pl. *zɔnam*) of about the same age, who has a similar interest in such adventures. For this a boy prefers a friend from another homestead, a not too near classificatory brother, to a close brother. Later on such a pair of friends will help each other in serious courtship, for one cannot carry on a serious courtship without a friend to act as spokesman and go-between. And a distant brother is preferable to a close brother as a friend in affairs of the heart. It helps to keep them secret from the other members of one's family, and that is desirable because it is a point of honour with every young man to find a wife for himself. The same motives operate with girls between the ages of about 13 and marriage at 16 to 18 years of age. A girl likes going to market with a girl friend of about her own age who is equally interested in the young men around. But if a girl is thinking of eloping with a suitor she prefers to confide in her mother or her clan-brother sweetheart. Having no rights in the bride-price they will—for a bribe from the suitor—help her to get away, whereas her own brothers will insist on a marriage by arrangement so as to make sure of the bride-price.

But the divergence of interests and companionship in the years immediately preceding and following adolescence does not disturb the personal intimacy and attachment of *soog* siblings. Custom prescribes that husband and wife should eat separately. So a man eats with one or two of his younger children, and each of his wives eats with one of her younger daughters or an infant. The other children are divided up, one dish of porridge to this pair of boys or that pair of girls or even to a girl and a boy. They may be full siblings or half-siblings, and the porridge they are eating on a particular occasion may be of their mother's co-wife's cooking. Nevertheless, every child continues to think of his own mother as the food-giver and of his *saarɔt* as those with whom he automatically shares food. A boy of 12 does not sleep in his mother's room, yet he still regards her as the source of his sense of emotional security. In a small and harmonious polygynous family the children are almost equally at home in all the women's quarters, but in a large joint family the children of one woman tend to be in her quarters for most of the time that they are indoors.

Of many other signs of the lasting intimacy of full siblings and their closer identification with each other than with their half-siblings, the

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best is this. A 12-year-old is conscious of his seniority (*kpemət*) in relation to his younger siblings. He orders them about and pulls them up if they are not behaving properly. But whereas he would not hesitate for a moment to smack a younger *soog*, he will not go further than scolding a younger half-sibling for the same offence. Tallensi say that if you strike your younger *soog* it does not matter; your mother or your father may rebuke you afterwards and the affair is forgotten. But if you strike a half-sibling—even if the child has behaved so disgracefully that public opinion will be on your side—you cause friction in the family. The child's mother gets annoyed with you and with your mother and quarrels arise.

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There is another interesting indication of this. As has been previously mentioned, Tallensi do not designate incest between brother and sister as sinful. When they say it is forbidden (*kih*), as they sometimes do, they mean it rather in the sense that it is disgraceful, scandalous, and unnatural than in the narrower ritual sense. If they are asked why then it is so uncommon, considering the many opportunities and temptations that surely offer, they explain it by the intimacy of siblings in childhood and adolescence. They deny that the temptation exists. 'Look', said Sinkawol, arguing this point with me, 'my sister, is she not marriageable? And here am I, however attractive she is, I do not even notice it; I am never aware that she has a vagina; she is just my sister and someone will one day come and marry her and I will give her to him and get my cows. You and your sister grow up together, you quarrel and make it up, how can you desire to have intercourse with her?' This is a stock argument with the Tallensi.

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At the same time the natives are the first to point out that sexual play in childhood generally begins with a classificatory sibling. Family play is a regular thing in the under-8 play-groups; and the final realistic touch is for the 'husband' and 'wife' to pretend to have coitus. This is common knowledge, and adults laugh at it. A standing joke is to tease a small boy about his so-called sweethearts. As we have seen, Tallensi say that small children 'have no sense (*ka yam*)', and therefore it is not a breach of propriety or morals for them to play at coitus with a sibling. Every man I questioned on the subject told me, with a grin of amusement, that his first sweetheart was a 'sister', sometimes of the same expanded family, more often of the same inner or medial lineage. 'We were very small and didn't know better', they said.

But Tallensi maintain stoutly that even small boys of 6 or 7 do not play at coitus with their *soog* sisters or half-sisters. There are exceptions, of course, they readily admit. There are stupid children, precocious children, and badly brought up children. Among such children instances of brothers copulating with sisters are bound to occur. It has been known to happen even with adolescents, who are presumed to 'have sense'. If it is found out, the culprits are given a severe thrashing

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spirit, perpetuating, on the religious plane, their common dependence on her in her lifetime.

It must not be thought, however, that friction between full siblings never occurs. That would be contrary to human nature, the natives often declare. As amongst most peoples, sibling solidarity conceals a strong element of rivalry. Indeed there is one circumstance in which it is taken for granted that *soog* siblings will be prone to quarrel all their lives, even if they do not set up separate homesteads. Two successive children of the same mother and father are regarded as born rivals. The second of the two children, irrespective of sex, is called the *nyeer* of the first. The first *nye* (verb = immediately precedes) the second, who *taɣal* (verb = immediately follows) the first in birth order. The definition applies strictly to birth sequence, not to survival order. A child is not its older *soog* sibling's *nyeer* if between them their mother had another child who died in infancy, or a miscarriage—for a miscarriage counts as a birth. The concept *nyeer* is regularly used to indicate an infant's degree of maturity. An infant that has a *nyeer*, or is old enough to have a *nyeer*, is entering the second conventionally recognized stage of social development, childhood proper. So if a native is asked about the stage of development reached by a particular child and says, 'It has a *nyeer* (*u mar nyeer*)' or 'It is fit to have a *nyeer* (*u saɣa nyeer maraga*)', one can infer that the child is between 3 and 5 years old—or, to keep to native categories of thought, that it is weaned, no longer needs the constant care of its mother or a nursemaid, and is beginning to fend for itself, to join in children's play-groups, and to become acquainted with the world outside the homestead walls.

A child and its *nyeer* are believed to be rivals almost from the day the *nyeer* is born. This predisposes them to be ill tempered with each other and wrangle on the most trivial provocation. Often when I have noticed two children bickering or annoying each other in some petty way, my companion—a man or an older child perhaps—has said with a laugh, 'There 's someone and his *nyeer* (*nit ni u nyeer nla*)'. Once at a funeral ceremony there was an argument between the two sons of the dead man. It ended with the older giving the younger a buffet across the mouth that drew blood. Relatives intervened and separated them. Then an old woman, their father's *soog* sister, with mingled pleading, protests, and sighs, dragged the younger brother away to attend to his cut lip. He was weeping with injured pride and humiliation, exclaiming, 'If he were not my older brother (*bier*) I would kill him'. The people sitting around commented scathingly on this shameless spectacle. Then someone remarked, 'Oh well, it 's a case of a man and his *nyeer*'. It had all begun, I learnt, from the younger lad's accusing the older of having appropriated something belonging to him and the older losing his temper with him for fussing about ridiculous trifles on such a solemn day.

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If a person is ill tempered or unnecessarily sharp with him, or appears to dislike him, a Taləŋ retorts with 'Why do you dislike me? Am I your *nyeer*, or what? (*I yaagɔm bo? Man a i nyeer bɛ?*)' This formula is always spoken half-mockingly; for the rivalry of successive children, though assumed to be in the very nature of their relationship, is not taken too seriously. It is not, like the underlying rivalry of father and first-born son, subject to ritual sanctions. It is simply an acute expression of the familiarity and equality of siblings and does not destroy their solidarity.[1] Tallensi themselves say that successive siblings often get on together admirably and stand together as staunchly as any other full siblings. I have never heard it said that *soog* brothers are quicker to set up separate households if they are successive siblings than if they are not.

Tale custom recognizes the rivalry of successive siblings in a number of other ways. Thus successive siblings (this applies chiefly to brothers) may not be buried in the same grave. If they are, their spirits will be continually quarrelling and persecuting their descendants until they are exhumed and separated. Again, successive sisters may not be married to the same man or even to the same clan. But this rule is, to my own knowledge, often broken. If they do happen to be married into the same clan the sisters must avoid being pregnant at the same time or, if they are, they must not see each other during their pregnancy. If they do one or both will miscarry. Here it is belief rather than practice that is a sign of the rivalry of successive siblings. Tallensi object to having two sisters married to the same man for prudential reasons. They say that it is obviously more difficult to get eight cows out of one man in payment of bride-price than it is to get four cows. Nevertheless it does sometimes occur. A well-to-do son-in-law who has his father-in-law's esteem can often persuade the old man to give him another daughter to wife. If the girls are successive siblings, a very simple magical rite involving the burying of a hoe at the entrance of the husband's homestead serves to 'cut' their *nyeer* relationship.[2]

[1] I do not know whether successive siblings quarrel more often than non-successive siblings. Tallensi say they do. Knowing the Tallensi, I have no doubt that conventional expectation itself acts as a stimulus to petty wrangling between successive siblings. Every time they have a disagreement not only onlookers but they themselves put the conventional interpretation on the situation, and this is bound to make them more touchy in relation to each other than to other siblings. In every aspect of Tale social life cultural definitions and expectations direct behaviour in this way. On the other hand, I knew several pairs of successive siblings who got on extremely well together and to all appearances never said a cross word to each other. Tallensi admit that this is quite common and explain it by the invariable stock phrase 'It 's all a matter of character'.

[2] A question that immediately suggests itself is, whence does the rivalry of successive siblings arise? I have put this question to many Tallensi. The usual answer is in terms of the cliché that '*it* is in the nature of things (*de yɛl nla*)'.

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To return to our main subject, squabbles between children, whether they are successive siblings or not, are laughed away. When adult brothers and sisters quarrel it is taken more seriously. The irresponsibility—as the men view it—of women in marriage often leads to family quarrels. A woman who runs away from a husband to whom she has been given, or obstinately returns to one from whom she has been taken, arouses her father's and her brothers' anger. There may be a temporary estrangement between them. But in the end they usually become reconciled again. If she does not give in, her father or brothers do. 'They have no alternative but to give in (*ba kɔŋ ka diegəra*)', the natives say. Before that happens, however, there may be a father's curse on the girl and hard words spoken to her and her husband by her brothers.

Adult *soog* brothers also fall out at times, but in contrast to disputes between half-brothers this seems very rarely to become either the pretext or the stimulus to their deciding to separate. Tallensi ascribe it to peculiarities of personality. The very fact that full brothers are often alike in character may be the cause of friction between them. To give one or two illustrations, there was the case of Zaŋ and his older *soog* brother Pumaan. They were both inclined to be solitary, egocentric, excessively touchy about their status, and suspicious of others. The strong competitive streak in them inevitably coloured their relations. So Zaŋ often complained that he found Pumaan's authority irksome. But there was never, as far as I could discover, an open quarrel between

But one or two more thoughtful informants appeared to have an inkling of the deeper sources of this peculiarity. They connected it with the fact that the older sibling is 'set aside' or 'left to itself (*bah*)' by the mother when she becomes pregnant with its *nyeer*. That is to say, the child's physical weaning is completed and simultaneously its affective attachment to its mother—a very possessive attachment with unweaned Tale babies—is brought to an end. A *nyeer* dispossesses its immediately preceding sibling of their mother's undivided care and devotion in both the physical and the psychological sense. This is a fact of observation and one which has a direct influence on family life. As we know, Tallensi maintain that it is very difficult for a woman to take care of two unweaned infants, hence the prohibition against a woman's becoming pregnant again before her infant is old enough to do without her undivided attention. When this custom is broken, so that a premature pregnancy follows, the parents are said to *nye* their child. As this term, cognate with *nyeer*, suggests, and conventional opinion confirms, a premature *nyeer* is believed to endanger a child's life. On the analogy of what is known to happen in our society, it can be surmised that the open acknowledgement of rivalry between successive siblings is a culturally standardized safety-valve for the jealousy and resentment the older sibling has against the younger for robbing him of their mother's attention. This explains also why successive birth order is the significant feature and not survival order. The older child's resentment will be directed only against its immediately next-born sibling, the one on whose account it was 'set aside', whether that sibling lives or not. It is possible, moreover, that open acknowledgement of the rivalry of successive siblings prevents it from turning into a disruptive element in the relations of siblings.

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593 578 them, and Zaŋ stood unswervingly by Pumaan, when the latter took sides against the head of their own medial lineage in the dispute over the succession to the clan *bɔyar*. Nindɔyat and Yintee, who, unlike Zaŋ and Pumaan, still farmed together, were cast in the same mould. Both were notorious for their instability and aggressiveness. They were known to quarrel frequently and on at least one occasion came to blows. But no one could have been more loyal to Nindɔyat than Yintee, in particular where the possessions of the family were concerned.

In short, though *soog* siblings come into conflict at times it does not undermine their solidarity. The reason for this is obvious. The crux of the sibling relationship lies in its social definition. Personal qualities may modify its content in particular cases; they cannot break up its structure; and this holds for every degree of sibling relationship. In the case of *soog* siblings the infrangible core is the relation of uterine siblings to and through their mother, as members of the matricentral *dug* in contraposition to the patricentral *yir*, first in the joint family and later in the lineage. The significance of this factor, the notion of maternal origin, can be judged from the relations of *soog* brothers who have different fathers. They may have no common economic interests and may grow up separately, after the early years of childhood. But they have very firm ties of affection and mutual loyalty, which are often expressed through mutual economic aid. Sie and Da'amo'o were *soog* brothers thus related, their mother having first been married to Sie's father and after his death to Da'amo'o's father, who belonged to a different medial lineage of the clan. Sie was the older of the two by ten or fifteen years. Whenever he was in trouble over something Da'amo'o went to seek Sie's advice rather than his proxy father's. This principle, as we have noted before, is of general validity in Tale social structure. It appears in the stronger cohesion and amity always found between individuals and lineages whose progenitors were *saarɔt* than between those who are only patrilineally connected. Nɛna'ab and Ɔndieso remained great friends in spite of the long-standing quarrel between their two inner lineages, because their mothers were full sisters. At the level of maximal lineage organization, Seug is a much more closely knit section of Tongo than the other three sections, because the founding ancestors of the two major segments of Seug were sons of one mother.[1]

Solidarity and Equality among sunzɔ Siblings

593 605 But the critical importance of the idea of their common parentage, bilaterally or unilaterally, in the relations of siblings is best shown in the differences between the relations of *soog* siblings and those of half-siblings and other paternal siblings (*sunzɔp*). Tallensi tend to draw a line between *soog* siblings and all other sibling relatives within the same nuclear lineage or inner lineage. Thus half-siblings (i.e. children of

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xii, p. 213.

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593 capable of; the care of livestock is the responsibility primarily of the younger men and boys, whereas such tasks as house-building and thatching fall principally on the older brothers who have the necessary skill. All labour for the common needs of the household is informally directed by the household head, but every member of the unit is expected to know his duties and to carry them out in co-operation with the others. In this connexion a father may insist on a son's giving up his own plans in order to carry out a job for the common good; a man cannot demand this of a younger brother. He can only give a lead or make a suggestion and rely on the younger man's sense of responsibility and concern for the interests of the household.

593 Conversely, siblings of the same household are entitled to equal
●578 treatment in drawing on the common resources of the household for the satisfaction of their wants. Brothers are entitled to equal treatment
584 in the allocation of food-supplies from the common stock if they are married. If a man has two adult sons—own sons or proxy sons—and pays the bride-price for the wife of one of them, it is considered right for the second to be assisted to marry before his brother is allowed to draw on patrimonial livestock for a second wife. Great importance is attached to this rule in family relations. Injustice in this matter arouses resentment. It is one of the causes of friction between a man and his proxy father, and between half-brothers, that leads to the secession of the injured party, or, very often nowadays, to his leaving home to seek work abroad. Tallensi claim that cases of this sort are not uncommon; but those I was able to investigate show that discrimination in this respect between *sunzo* brothers is usually only one element in a complex picture of motives for seceding. The point stressed by the natives, however, is the principle; and observation shows that it is more commonly honoured than not. An almost ludicrous example of this was Yinworəb's dogged efforts to find a wife for his half-brother Yimbom. He failed, alas, for no girl would stay with so unprepossessing a man as Yimbom.

593 The notion of sharing is especially important in the ritual relations
613 of brothers or the descendants of brothers. Many examples of this are quoted in our previous book.[1] Its outstanding characteristic is the precise distribution of roles and division of sacrificial or ceremonial foodstuffs, beer, and meat in accordance with the lineage relationships of the participants.

593 This emphasis on just sharing among siblings begins in childhood,
867 first when siblings sit down to eat from a common dish, and then in the children's play-groups. I have many times stood by watching with some amusement while a group of small children solemnly divided up a small animal they had killed, a lizard or a mouse, for instance. They are always fair, especially to the younger ones; and they follow the pattern

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xiii.

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of distribution employed in the division of sacrificial meat, as they have seen it among adults, with hardly an error. By the age of 8 or 9, boys are sufficiently familiar with the lineage organization to have grasped this pattern. 593 867

The division of sacrificial and ceremonial food expresses precisely the genealogical structure of the lineage concerned. The first division is into equal shares for each of the major segments of the lineage; then a further division takes place on the same lines within each segment; and so on down to the smallest segments. Thus one can see the children of an expanded family of two homesteads divide a mouse first into halves, one for children of one homestead, the other half for the children of the other homestead, and then each group apportioning their share equally amongst the children of different mothers in the same joint family. 593 613

As these rules show, the configuration of social relations characteristic of brothers is generalized throughout the social structure, not, of course, in all its intimate nuances and particularities but in its structurally relevant norms. Where two persons or corporate groups are defined by descent as 'siblings' or 'brother-groups' they act towards each other as brothers would in a comparable situation. This, as we have previously found, is a fundamental principle of lineage organization and action. 593 602

The equality *inter se* of siblings, except for sex and age differences, postulates equality of rights in relation to their 'fathers' and to one another. The fiction by which the token rights of a woman and her children in her father's house are upheld—the theory that but for the accident of birth she might have been a son vested with a son's rights—is evidence of this. These rights become significant when a young man enters into the full productive activities of the household and when a girl gets married. It is in virtue of the labour he contributes to maintain the household, and in virtue of the bride-price she brings in, that youth and girl claim these rights. Thus these rights exist, by definition, only within the lineage framework, in relation to the corporate unity of the lineage. They are epitomized in the rule that brothers are equally entitled to inherit patrimonial property, especially land. 593

We have previously seen, however, that the entry of a youth into full economic responsibility coincides with the increasing progress of his self-differentiation as a social personality in his own right. There is no inconsistency in this. The unity and cohesion of family and lineage depend upon a balance of rights and duties among all the individuals involved. And the recognition of their rights and duties presupposes their self-differentiation as individuals, partly in terms of their respective maternal origins, but equally in terms of their developing social maturity and productive capacity. 593 884

The climax of this process comes with marriage, or more accurately with the establishment of a family on becoming a parent. This brings the 593 884 578

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593 884 578 cleavages between *sunzo* siblings, both on the level of jural and economic relations and in sentiment, more prominently to the fore. It is the starting-point of those intra-familial tensions that, according to native views, stir up jealousies between co-wives who are wives of brothers. As we know, these tensions are said to culminate, very often, in quarrels over alleged unfairness in the apportionment of food-supplies, or over the treatment of children, or other ostensible acts of discrimination between co-wives. This is one of the reasons most often adduced for a man's leaving the paternal homestead to farm on his own. From these tensions arise also those disagreements between brothers over petty trespasses on one another's property or independence, summed up in the conventional formula of 'quarrels about chickens and eggs'. The stage is thus set for the typical process of residential and economic fission in the joint family along the genealogical lines of cleavage inherent in it. The equality in status and rights of brothers in relation to one another within the lineage thus attains its maximum emphasis in the social structure. The natives are well aware of the economic pressures behind this process; but they also see that these pressures would not work out in just the way they do if it were not for the inherent dichotomy in the structure of the family and the lineage. These two factors mutually determine and reinforce each other.

593 578 613 This brings up a point of some importance. It is conceivable that tension between brothers, whatever it is a symptom of, might result in young men separating after the death of their father, or after marriage, to take up land wherever they can find any. Thus a group of brothers would be scattered without respect to their lineage ties; and this process would in a few generations lead to the disintegration of the present highly localized lineage structure, and the emergence of a system of dispersed intermingled clans such as is found in many West African societies.[1] In fact, as previous chapters have shown, there is a slow process of dispersion in progress among the Tallensi all the time, but it has not led to a breakdown of the lineage system. The lineage ramifies, it does not break up into independent units that sever their genealogical ties with the main branch.

The basis of this is the fact that brothers separate but do not thereby relinquish membership of their maximal lineage. They do not sever their social and personal bonds with one another; which means that they do not forfeit any of their rights or relinquish any of their duties as sons and brothers. They are independent only within the bounds set by the corporate unity and the common interests of the lineage system. For it is only through his position in the lineage system that a Talaŋ is able satisfactorily to secure his rights and perform his duties as a

[1] This would appear to be the case among the Ashanti (cf. R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, ch. viii) and the Jukun (cf. C. K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, ch. ii), to cite only two widely separated examples.

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responsible member of his society. Of this we have had ample evidence.[1] Again, there are strong economic elements in the individual's adhesion to the lineage. There is the pressure due to the form and organization of Tale economy as a whole, which tends to restrict excessive mobility. As Tallensi themselves often put it, shrewdly picking on the key item in their productive cycle, it is all a question of manure, including human excrement. A home farm in one of the old settlements kept at a high level of fertility by continuous manuring is not light-heartedly abandoned.[2] This fact, and the scarcity of unutilized and unowned farmland in the old settlements, puts a premium on the right to inherit land in them. To-day, it is true, the pressure of these forces has been relaxed by the opening up of an easily accessible external labour market and of facilities for trade both in Taleland and with other areas. These extraneous outlets have made life easier for the natives but they have not, as we have observed before, materially altered their traditional mode of livelihood. In fact they serve to emphasize the contention of the natives that economic motives are of secondary consequence in maintaining lineage unity.

It is not joint interest in, and equal rights to the inheritance of, their patrimonial lands which alone hold a group of brothers together. Men who leave their natal settlements on account of land shortage do not return home eventually only because they have at last inherited their patrimonial lands. The decisive sanction, as we have shown in an earlier chapter, lies in the obligation of filial piety and what it stands for in terms of the jural and ritual functions of the lineage. The focus of unity for every lineage is the authority of the father, either the real authority of the living father or the mystical supremacy of the dead father or his surrogate, an ancestor spirit. Men like Yinworəb and Da'amɔ'o gave up wage labour in Kumasi very reluctantly to return home because the death of their fathers left them at the head of their respective joint families, and other similar cases have been quoted in an earlier chapter (p. 179). Similarly, a group of brothers may be scattered, some at home, some in a peripheral settlement, some in Mampurugu, some working abroad. On certain ritual occasions those who are near enough make a point of returning home. Family funerals, in particular, bring the scattered members of the family together. The three chief mourners at Tɛndaan Gieŋ's funeral were his brothers' sons Gikoo-Duun, who lived near Sameni in Mampurugu, Saanbuohba, who had been farming near Tola on the Red Volta for some years, and Baŋ-Duun who had been living at Biuŋ for nearly twenty years. They all

[1] In preceding chapters as well as in *Dynamics of Clanship*, *passim*.

[2] We have touched on this subject in our earlier book, chapters i and xi. It is more fully considered in C. W. Lynn's report, *Agriculture in North Mamprussi* (Dept. of Agriculture, Gold Coast, Bulletin 34, 1937), and in M. and S. L. Fortes, 'Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi', *Africa*, IX, 1936.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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spoke of their ancestral home at Zubiuŋ as their 'real home (*ti yir ni yɛlmɛŋar*)' to which they would all return sooner or later. Two years later, in fact, both Saanbuohba and Baŋ-Duun did return to Zubiuŋ.

As these examples show, though the solidarity of siblings derives its psychological content from the fact of their growing up together, its validity as a norm of social relations among siblings is a function of the total field of lineage relations. In other words, whatever the personal relations of siblings may be, their indestructible social bonds spring from their common jural and ritual relationship to their parents; and 'sibling' in this context stands not only for individuals but for lineages, while 'parent' stands for any ancestor that may be relevant in a particular situation.

We must add that the friction which sibling rivalry between brothers occasionally gives rise to does not come to an end with their economic and residential separation. Self-interest among Tallensi provokes clashes of personality and of rights as much as anywhere else in the world. Tallensi say that the gravest disputes between brothers of the same nuclear lineage arise over land, though such disputes are very rare. Unlike the petty squabbles of day-to-day life, they are apt to end in blows and even bloodshed. I heard of several instances that had occurred during the previous thirty years, but only one came to my notice during my stay among the Tallensi. It was, however, a typical case. When Gunyam died, his sons Taagbin and Zayahkpɛmɔre inherited his lands and chattels, with Taagbin, the oldest son, as the senior heir. Taagbin allocated a portion of their late father's home farm to his younger brother. But the latter objected that he was being unfairly treated. The dispute ended in a fight in which Zayahkpɛmɔre was injured in the hand. Public opinion was severely critical of Zayahkpɛmɔre; for, as a Tale saying goes, an older brother who inherits his father's property and position is like one's father and should be treated with similar respect. But, as an elder of their section shrewdly pointed out when we were discussing this case, stupid as he is reputed to be, Zayahkpɛmɔre would never have raised his hand against Taagbin if the latter had been his proxy father and not his brother. Brothers quarrel just because they have equal rights in relation to one another.

There are two offences, however, which irrevocably disrupt the bonds of brotherhood if one brother commits either of them against another. As we have previously stated, it is a grave sin for a man to seduce the wife of a brother of the same inner or medial lineage. If this happens, the Tallensi say, the injured man and the culprit 'will never eat together again, will never sacrifice together again'. Because of this taboo a man may not sit on the same sleeping-mat as his brother's wife. 'It is as if he wanted to sleep with her', the natives say. Hence, also, it is considered to be improper for a man to address his brother's wife while he is alive as wife (*pɔya*), though he may speak of her to non-members

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593 generations ago the ancestor of this segment of Sagbarug yidɛm slew the
682 ancestor of a segment of Kuruug, hence the two units may not sacrifice
784 together. To do so would be to court the wrath of their collective ancestors.

593 Our analysis shows that what makes a rupture of the ties of brother-
578 hood, at any level of lineage organization, so grave a matter, is the fact that it involves a rupture of the common filial relationship of the parties
602 to a parent or ancestor. For it is from this relationship that the persons or units concerned derive their status of brotherhood relatively to one another.

593 In the preceding discussion we have spoken of brothers or siblings
602 sometimes in the primary sense of these terms, sometimes in the classificatory sense. That is exactly how the natives use the kinship terms for siblings; and the speech context by itself does not always indicate the exact genealogical degree of the relationship between the speaker and the person referred to. Like the terms used for parents and children, these kinship terms only have a strict connotation, implying specific sentiments, rights, and duties within the standard classificatory range. Within the inner lineage, or at the utmost, in lineages of narrow span, the medial lineage, a person described by the speaker as his sister (*tau*) or older brother (*bier*) or younger brother (*pit*) can be shown by genealogical reckoning to be of his or her generation by birth, even if he or she belongs to a totally different age stratum. Thus Badiwona, aged 6, describes Tiezien, aged about 70, as his older brother because they have a common patrilineal grandfather; and Zoobon-Tɔŋ-Tɔbɔg's children call their contemporaries, Kurug's children, brothers and sisters because they have a common patrilineal great-great-grandfather and belong to the same inner lineage. The pattern of conduct and sentiment we have been describing holds within this range, with the qualification that the solidarity of siblings tends to be shallower and their equality of less personal consequence the more distant their genealogical connexion within the inner lineage. But so close-knit is the inner lineage as a corporate unit in relation to wider corporate groupings that these differences of degree very often vanish altogether, except for the difference between *soog* and *sunzɔ* siblings.

593 As usual, it depends on the situation and on the kind of interests
602 involved. The situation steers conduct and sentiment; it is an infallible
613 guide to the connotation of the kinship terms used in it. To take a few examples: A man may be nearly starving; he will be much more likely to receive a gift of grain from one of his matrilateral kinsmen than from a distant *sunzɔ* brother of the same inner lineage. Similarly, if a man is hard pressed in his farming programme, he will ask a uterine kinsman or an affinal kinsman to assist him and not a *sunzɔ* brother of the same inner lineage. These are personal problems and they are dealt with by invoking cognatic kinship ties. But in ritual and jural affairs it is the

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other way round. These involve not individual economic or social interests but the common interests of the lineage. If a man has to answer a charge of having abducted another man's wife, or meet a demand for the payment of bride-price or the surrender of the custody of a child, his 'brothers' and 'fathers' of the same inner lineage will rally round him unanimously. For marriage affairs (*pɔyadir ycla*) involve the common interests of the whole lineage. The observer cannot deduce from the opinions or actions of any member of the inner lineage, in such a situation, whether he is the full (*soog*) brother or the paternal (*sunzɔ*) brother, or a more distant classificatory brother or father of the main actor.

The differences of degree in the solidarity of siblings is most apparent in residential, economic, and domestic arrangements. So if one asks a man whom he lives with and he replies 'I share a homestead with my older brother (*man ni m-bier la kab kpeerɔme*'—lit. 'I and my older brother enter together'), one can be certain that the older brother referred to is not more distantly related to him than a father's half-brother's son. But the term *bier* has a different connotation in marriage affairs. For instance, Yin's son's father-in-law came one day to see Yin about the payment of his daughter's bride-price. There was a long and at moments acrimonious argument, with the intermediary (*pɔyasama*) acting as conciliator. At length Yin said: 'I agree to your terms; but of course I must first consult my older brothers (*biernam*).' Everybody understood that what Yin meant was that he should first have to obtain the formal consent of the elders of his inner lineage.

As we have learnt before, generation differences are not reckoned beyond the limits of the inner or at most medial lineage. Beyond this range, therefore, all clanswomen are called sisters (*tap*) and all clansmen who are one's contemporaries or one's own siblings' contemporaries are described as siblings. In relation to them the pattern of sentiment and conduct that holds between true siblings only comes into action *vis-à-vis* non-clansmen, and then in a very attenuated form. It is a question chiefly of united action and mutual loyalty in the service of the corporate interests of the maximal lineage or clan. So any man will come to the assistance of a clansman in an argument or fight with a man of another clan, irrespective of the rights or wrongs of the case. This is vividly seen in hunting or fishing battues. It is a very common thing for two or three men to lay claim to having killed an animal, especially if no arrow is found embedded in the animal's flesh. Then the clansmen of the claimants rally round them and their dispute turns into a violent altercation between two or three solid phalanxes of hunters. As we have previously narrated,[1] a famous war of the old days began in this way. Similarly, market brawls occasionally arise from a man's clansmen coming to his support in an argument. The commonest

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xiii.

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604 *ahəb*. Nevertheless she has much the same attitude to him as her brothers have and will, if need arises, go to him for help as if he were her father. A woman will go to her mother's brother for a basket of grain at harvest time if her husband's grain supplies are very low and she knows that her father or brother has none to spare.

These personal bonds are transferred, in accordance with the principles we have previously made clear, to sons and grandsons and collateral relatives, as well as to the lineages, of *ahəb* and *ahəŋ*. Yarəg of Gbizug was a close friend of his paternal grandfather's mother's brother's family at Puhug. Sayəbazaa, who was both a neighbour and a distant classificatory *ahəŋ* of Zubiuŋ (since both the founding ancestor of his maximal lineage and one of his inner lineage forbears were sister's sons of a Zubiuŋ lineage), took great pride in being the *ahəŋ-kpeem*, most senior of the 'sisters' sons' of that clan. He took a keen interest in its affairs and never missed attending important ceremonies anywhere in Zubiuŋ. The elders of the clan spoke of him with respect as 'our elder brother (*ti bier*)'. But naturally, the more distant the relationship is, the less intimate and the more formal do the mutual interests of *ahəb* and *ahəŋ* tend to become.

604 765 Death is the key test of kinship sentiments. The day after Kpe'emi's death I happened to call at the house of his mother's full brother, Ləyani. I found Ləyani and his brother sitting listlessly at their gateway and the house was as quiet as if there were a person on his death-bed inside. The women, who should have been out collecting firewood, were at home, and the children, usually playing boisterously at that time of the day, sat in corners, talking in subdued voices. When I asked what was the matter, Ləyani said mournfully, 'Have you not heard of our child Kpe'emi's death? That is our grief (*ti suhkpɛləg nla*). We sitting here, our bodies are prostrate (*ti nɛŋgbina nkpi*—lit. our bodies are dead). We have no thought for food or drink or work.' Barimoda was deeply affected when his *ahəb* Teroog died, though he was then a very old man. Barimoda could not publicly manage the funeral but he did in fact manage it behind the scenes. As we shall see later, an *ahəŋ* has certain customary obligations to fulfil at the funeral of his *ahəb*. The feud between the Gəlibdaana's faction and the Kpata'arna'ab's supporters at Tenzugu placed many men in the camp opposed to that of their *ahəb* or *ahəs*. Kpata'ar men and Bunkyiuk men stopped having any contacts with each other. But just then the mother's brother of Nayabil of Kpata'ar died. I was with the Kpata'arna'ab, the head of the maximal lineage, when Nayabil came to tell him of this. 'I want to tell you', he said, 'because he (the dead man) is my true *ahəb* (i.e. mother's full brother) and if I do not go to the funeral to mourn his death it would be unseemly (*de ku maali*). Besides', he went on, turning to me, 'if I don't go my mother (also dead) would be angry because I was scorning her brother's funeral.' The Kpata'arna'ab at once gave Nayabil permis-

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604 613 754 belonged to and who he was. The method of sorcery was to dip this 'evil arrow (*peembier*)' secretly into some food or drink the slayer was about to take. If this was done he would die. The problem then was to find someone who would carry out this task. It could not be done by any of the victim's clansmen since it required intimate contact with the slayer's family.

578 604 613 754 If there was a daughter of the victim's clan, or better still, inner lineage married to a member of the slayer's inner lineage, she might be persuaded to do it. Such an action would be a grave sin, for which the woman's husband's ancestors would punish her with death. But sometimes women hate their husbands so much in their hearts, Tallensi say, that they will risk anything to injure them and their clan. And if the dead man was a close agnate of the woman, she might put vengeance for his death above her duty to her husband's clan. Alternatively, an *ahəŋ* of the victim's inner lineage or clan, who is a member of the slayer's inner lineage or clan, might be persuaded to undertake the commission. Only a man who had a deep grudge against the slayer would undertake so wicked an action for which the clan ancestors would certainly punish him with death. But enmity between clansmen, even between brothers of the same inner lineage, is not unknown; and as Tallensi often assert, the belief that the ancestors may punish an action with death does not always restrain an unscrupulous man. Whether or not this act of sorcery was ever carried out I cannot tell. It is impossible to obtain verifiable information on a point of this sort. But what is of interest is the belief itself. Assuming that it is founded on fantasy, it still suggests that the loyalties of an *ahəŋ* are felt to be more evenly divided than is conventionally admitted.

604 578 There is other evidence for this view. The Gəlibdaana of Tənzugu earned the hostility of most of the maximal lineage and clan heads of the Tongo district by his high-handed drive to aggrandize himself.[1] In public his opponents had the support of practically all their clan or lineage elders. But amongst them there were, in every clan, one or two private sympathizers of the Gəlibdaana. The usual explanation was that these men were 'sisters' sons' or 'grandsons' of his inner lineage or clan. One of the Chief of Tongo's most trusted and devoted elders used to visit the Gəlibdaana regularly. Another elder of the chief pointed out to me, in explanation, that the first was an *ahəŋ* of the Gəlibdaana's inner lineage. He quoted several other men who were *ahəs* of the Gəlibdaana's inner lineage and maintained close contact with him. It was through them, he added, that the Gəlibdaana kept himself so well informed of everything that happened at Tongo, even of matters that should not be known outside the chief's family. He admitted that the Chief of Tongo probably had similar contacts with the Gəlibdaana's faction and kept himself informed of the Gəlibdaana's activities in the same way.

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 251 ff.

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deal with the conversion of these raw materials into cooked food for the maintenance of all by the almost exclusive efforts of the woman.

The preparation of food is a woman's task. Though cooking is done by both sexes, men cook only on ritual and special occasions and, as a rule, out of doors. Women always cook in the kitchen, as it is a taboo to prepare food for everyday consumption outside the compound. As we have already mentioned, every woman other than a young wife has her own quarters (*dug*) consisting of several rooms. Of these, the most important for the present paper are the grinding room (*neer*) and the kitchens (*da'ay*). Not every woman possesses her own grinding-room, but she may use that of any other woman in her husband's compound, or of a related neighbouring compound, and no one may refuse her. The owner's permission is never asked, but a woman will not enter a grinding-room if she observes another's grain lying on the grinding-platform.

The grinding-room is the source of much friction within the compound. It is the cause or pretext of women's quarrels which often involve their husbands as well. Disputes arise mainly over the question of priority, or about the misuse of the grinding stones, e.g. leaving the *baarig* soiled with soup ingredients. Hence, a man will try to build a grinding-room for each wife in order to maintain the peace.

Inside the grinding-room is a low, semicircular platform (*neer*) the surface of which has two or three shallow depressions with their appropriate grindstones (*neekay*). These vary in weight, shape, and texture according to the purpose for which they are intended. There is a heavy and rough grindstone—*gmaarig*—used for crushing the whole grain; a smaller and flatter one—*baarig*—which crushes the rough corn into fine flour (*zom*); and a small, round stone—*ziba'axneer*—used only for grinding soup ingredients such as dried vegetables, red pepper, rock-salt, dawa-dawa-seed balls, dried meat, &c. If a grinding-room lacks the latter stone the soup ingredients are mixed with a little flour and ground with the *baarig*. The flour is added so that the stone should be left clean and dry.

The kitchen consists of two adjoining rooms, a covered one (*da'ambɔk*) used during the wet season, which serves also as the store-room for the owner's produce, her firewood, and cooking-pots, and an open one (*da'ay*) used during the dry season. However, it happens

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226 at a leisurely pace, stopping every now and then to pluck bunches of soft, heavy leaves. These they stick into their waistbands, in front and behind, as a substitute for the perineal belt which they remove to prevent its being damaged in the water. The throng presses gaily on, joking, laughing, and conversing.

226 515 562 834 Several hours before the fishing is due to begin the well-wooded banks of the river swarm with a jostling multitude. The small and very shallow pools scattered in the sandy reaches between the large fishing pools are filled with bathers. The segregation of the sexes, inchoate at the time of the approach to the pool, now becomes more explicit. The women tend to congregate apart from the men though communication between the two groups is perfectly free and frequent, and they bathe in different pools from the men. In explanation men declare with a smirk, "so that we can't see each other's sexual parts," but the close proximity to each other of the two groups of bathers and their unabashed bearing contradicts this allegation. Indeed nakedness is never a source of shame, though modesty requires a woman who has had children to cover the genitalia. But the men thus hint obscurely at the real explanation: the sexual dichotomy which runs through the whole culture, expressing itself in the division of labour and as now in a spontaneous but not rigid social segregation at certain times. It will be seen later that this principle emerges graphically in the actual technique of fishing. In the case of one pool, fished on two successive days, it took the extreme form of barring women altogether on the first day, on ritual grounds.

226 ●578 Besides the division in terms of sex, a distribution in accordance with political cleavages can be observed. Broadly speaking, the tribe is divided into two large political aggregates, the *Namoos* and the *Tallis* (the "real Tallensi"), each comprising several settlements or "lands" (*ten*, pl. *tes*). When the number of people is large, as in the first expedition of the season, each settlement occupies its own traditional place by the river, *Namoos* on one bank, *Tallis* on the other, more or less. In the small expeditions the groups merge more. Again there is nothing rigid about this political segregation. Bonds of kinship and of marriage unite every individual of the one group to the other group; but the disposition of the contingents nevertheless expresses a traditional though latent opposition between the two groups which requires little provocation to flare up.

461 322 While some bathe and others lounge about, conversing with friends, or the young girls flirt with the young men, many employ themselves usefully. Some men cut thick withes to insert into their fishing nets, others cut hoe shafts or axe shafts, shaping them roughly, to carry them home for finishing. Since the agricultural season is just beginning there is a ready sale for these articles. Some hack down saplings for rafters, some strip lengths of bark from the *bayana* trees, if any are about, for making the rough rope used in thatching, while others search for trees and shrubs used as household medicines, and many women begin to collect bundles of firewood to take back with them. The geographical setting of the fishing expedition thus creates a subsidiary economic situation which ensures that the day is not wasted, even if no fish are caught.

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227 The technique of fishing is simple. The men move to and fro all the time in the centre of the pool: the women form an irregular circle round the men and keep to the shallow periphery. Men use hand nets (*wɔk*) suspended from a single, strong withe bent in a roughly elliptical hoop, about 18 in. by 8 in. They scoop at random. If a fish is netted a quick twist of the wrist secures it in the bottom of the net, where it is dispatched with blows of an axe-shaft or the fist, and then hung from the man's waist on a string threaded through the gill cleft. Large nets (*pal*) of similar pattern, 8 or 9 feet long and manipulated by two men, are also employed, but the proportion of these is extremely small. Women use a heavy, beehive-shaped plunge basket (*sɔyar*) about 2 feet high made of withes lashed together about 2 inches apart at the open end of the trap. At the top of the trap a circular aperture four inches or so in diameter is left, while the bottom, open end is about twenty-seven inches across. The women plunge this down on to the bed of the river every few minutes and insert a hand through the top aperture to extract the fish. Their catch goes into a small basket slung from a shoulder. Whereas men often land a big fish, women seldom catch anything above the size of a large herring. The natives explain this by pointing out that the biggest fish will naturally seek the deeper water in the centre of the pool, which is occupied by the men. Only fish escaping to the periphery will come the women's way.

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571 The manual skill involved is however of secondary significance. Sociologically, the essential fact is that fishing is a group activity. Everybody fishes with and against his neighbour, his motor alertness and competitive cupidity at the highest. The excitement is indescribable. The glint of a fin through the water, brown with the mud churned up by the slow moving mass of men, causes a scrimmage. Pushing and shouting, a dozen men plunge their nets after the fish. In a well stocked pool the terrified fish leap out of the water, a fantastic and beautiful sight. Hands and nets swing out after the leaping fish, and the older men who remain on the bank watching call out with eager delight at the sight. The first catch of the day is greeted with a shout of pleasure, not very welcome to the fortunate fisherman, however, for the fish thus noticed cannot escape confiscation by the owner of the pool, as it is the ritual perquisite of the fetish.

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579 Disputes are inevitable and may become violent. The rule is that a fish belongs to the person who nets or traps it. But a fish may be netted by one man, escape, and be at once netted by another, or a leaping fish may be pinned between two nets. Such incidents lead to an angry altercation in which the one who has the fish generally gets the better. Once a quarrel over a fish occurred between a man of the *Namoos* group and one of the *Tallis* group. The latter ran ashore with his fish followed by the *Namoos* claimant. In a few minutes a small riot had broken out. *Namoos* and *Tallis* rushed out, snatched sticks, branches of trees, fishing nets, and flew at each other. Only the intervention of a brother of the Chief of Tongo stopped what might have become a serious fight. The dispute over the fish in this case was the signal for an outburst of political hostility. Words quickly lead to blows in such an atmosphere of heightened muscular and emotional tension.

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The principal disputes, however, concern the tribute due to the owner of the pool. Morally his rights are beyond question and are never denied. But except for members of the owner's immediate family, who will eventually receive a share of the tribute, a moral obligation of this sort counts for nothing in practice without effective sanctions. Hence the owner sees to it that members of his family are dispersed amongst the crowd in the water. These young men keep a sharp watch and do not hesitate to take by force the fish which they regard as their rightful tribute. The owner himself often enters the pool to assist in the police work. Those who contest the confiscation of their fish do so in vain. Not only will public opinion not support them, but the owner's "policemen" would not hesitate to give them a drubbing. A maternal kinsman, sister's son, or in-law relation of the owner is, however, allowed to keep his first fish, unless his catch is large, in virtue of kinship. This is a concession which the owner might also make to his personal friends, and not a right.

One obligation, by contrast, is never evaded. Young crocodiles are sometimes caught, and the owner of the fetish is entitled to the hind legs and tail of every crocodile caught. This is the perquisite of his *bayar* one part of which, the hoe shaft, will be covered with the skin of a crocodile tail thus delivered to him. Not only is it very difficult to conceal the capture of a crocodile, but the supernatural penalties of evasion—certain injury from a crocodile in a future fishing expedition being the least of them—dare not be risked.

Fishing continues thus from about 1.30 p.m. to 4 p.m., or in a well stocked pool, to 5 p.m. The exodus commences sporadically. People who had earlier in the day been cutting hoe shafts or rafters, collecting firewood, or medicinal herbs, come out first to complete these tasks. Finally, when only a few remain in the pool, the owner of the fetish goes down to pull up his *bayar*. As he does this, he shouts to those remaining to come out. The removal of the axe shaft is the signal that the fishing is over.

The catch in such expeditions varies greatly. The tribute received by the owner of the pool may be taken as a rough index of the catch. In the three expeditions in which I participated the owner's tribute varied from six to fifteen medium and large fish. The last pool was exceptionally prolific and was fished on two successive days. I estimated the number of men—men only fished on the first day—at about four hundred; on this occasion the catch was declared to be enormous, surpassing all expectations. Few people left empty handed. But on the other hand, nobody had more than four medium or large fish, which would be taken home and divided up within each man's immediate family. The best proof of the paucity of the catch relative to the population fishing and of the valuation of fish as a delicacy rather than as an addition to the food supply, was that throughout the fishing month fish caught on these expeditions never appeared for sale at the market.

Clearly too, communal fishing does not benefit the owner of the pool much materially. However large his tribute, the net gain to himself is small since he distributes much of it to others—men of rank and elders who attend the fishing as an expression of clan loyalty

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From this divination emerges, first, whom the ancestor spirits have selected to bring the sacred Gingauŋ drum, after which the Namoos' festival is named, out of the Chief's court chamber. There are two Gingauŋ drums: a small one, the sacred one brought by their ancestor Mosur, and a large one, subsequently manufactured merely to add liveliness to the dance. Second, the seance establishes what sacrifices have to be made upon the shrines of the original ancestors of Tongo. In this seance the Chief and his elders, the representatives, metaphorically speaking, of the clan conscience, show how vividly the hallowing of the tradition is felt by them. The sacrifices have a double intention; to thank the ancestors for a successful harvest of early millet and for the standing crop of guinea corn, and to avert quarrels and disputes which might occur when great concourses of people flock to the dance. It is for fear of quarrels which might lead to bloodshed and thus to unknown supernatural calamities that only a youth authorized by the ancestor spirits may inaugurate the dance. The divination, as befits the joyful occasion, is nevertheless cheerful.

The sacrifices are carried out immediately, and ritual then sinks into abeyance for a time. The nightly dance occupies the center of social interest, until the moon begins to wane. For a night or two the children have almost complete possession of the dedicated dancing field, practicing their awkward steps. With the waxing moon adults throng to the dance, until in the end even young mothers come out carrying sleepy infants, and the drummers cannot be seen in the center of the great mass of poeple.

This first phase is aptly known as the Gingauŋdeema, "play Gingauŋ." It is monopolized by the younger adults and adolescents, who try out the dancing songs. But the season gets its name mainly from the sexual effervescence associated with it. Women are the cause of the disputes which threaten the peace of the dance. Not a day passes without an elopement, planned on the dancing ground. Unfortunately, few of these marriages survive the festive period; and that, perhaps explains why there is a taboo against carrying out any of the legal formalities of marriage during this month. For Baari and Tongo, the Moon of Waters is a dangerous month, in spite of the festivity, because of the human passions aroused, as is evident from the fact that it is a grave sin to shed blood on the earth, even from a scratch or cut. Strangers, and in particular Tallis, flock to watch the dance, and of course to find lovers. But only Namoos may enter the dance.

A fortnight's lull ensues during which the guinea-corn is harvested. Then comes the Moon of Daa, so named from the final phase of the festival, and the "real Gingauŋ," Gingauŋ meŋa. But I must resist the tempta-

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tion to enter into an acount of the dynamics of the dance itself. It is the first Gingauŋ incomparably enhanced. The older men, expert dancers, are in charge, though the younger ones and even women and children have full freedom to join.

A point of psychological interest is the choral refrain which provides the organizing slogan for the dance. It consists of a verse taunting a member of a co-clan of Tongo with some moral failing. To taunt the Tallis thus would be tantamount to declaring war.

The festival reaches a climax in the second week of the moon, when it squeezes out every other social activity. In the dance this is marked by a striking bit of pantomime which symbolizes the pride of the Namoos in their chieftainship and chiefly ancestors. Suddenly, long after midnight, when the moon is at its highest and the dance at a pitch of intensity, a dozen solemn figures begin to press slowly towards the center of the dance. Spectators and dancers make way for them. They stand in rank, shoulder to shoulder, unlike the dancers who form a file. The dancers shuffle, leap and stamp, but they bob gravely from foot to foot, erect, faces set like masks, chanting a low, wordless chant. They wear faded red caps and gorgeous, though sometimes tarnished, gowns—the garb of chiefs—and carry spears. They represent their grandfathers and ancestors who had been chiefs and men of rank. The natives delight both in the dramatic contrast, and in identifying the chiefs whom the mummers represent.

And now ritual returns. On the fifteenth night there is no dancing. On the contrary, not a single person stirs out of doors after dark. For that night all the ancestors of Tongo come to dance Gingauŋ, and he who hears or sees the phantom dance dies at once. Everybody hangs out his or her finest garments for the ancestors to borrow for their dance—spiritually, of course. For they keep a sharp look-out against human thieves, who have been known not to respect the occasion. Next day, towards noon, the Baari Tendaana calls upon the Chief of Tongo, bringing a small pot of consecrated beer. All present must drink of it, and the ancestors too, for a gourd-full is sent out to be poured on the grave of Mosur. It is a convivial scene, which instantly becomes serious as the Chief begins to address the Tendaana. This is the gist of his speech: The day has returned for us to meet as our ancestors used to, and to do as they did so that we shall have untroubled sleep, marry new wives, and beget many children. We have had a good harvest. May we all live to see Golib and sow our millet in that moon successfully. May my chiefly ancestors and Mosur permit this and permit us to gain new life so that next year at this time we again celebrate Daa. The Tendaana responds with a similar blessing, saying that Baat

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For this was the site of the first Gbizug Tendaana's compound when he received Mosur; and it is here that the Gbizug Tendaana receives every newly elected Chief of Tongo. After his investiture the Chief must never set foot in it again.

Towards evening a brother of the Chief arrives at the dancing ground, wearing the red cap and the gown, the insignia of a chief, and followed by boys carrying pots of beer. He takes his seat on the flat rock on which every newly elected chief sits down to await the Gbizug Tendaana. For an hour or two he sits gravely there, receiving the humble greetings of the men of Tongo. He is Chief for the nonce. Then a messenger arrives to announce the Gbizug Tendaana. The latter, escorted by men of his lineage, arrives in the dark and greets the mock-chief. The beer is divided out among those present, and then the Tendaana retires a dozen paces. In a voice inaudible to the Namoos, he calls upon his ancestor, the first Tendaana, and asks for the blessings of a good harvest, wives, children, and happiness in the coming year. The mock-chief dismisses his people and takes the homeward path, followed at some distance by the Tendaana and his people. As soon as he arrives at the Chief's compound, he and every other person in the compound, including the Chief himself, hides behind closed doorways in the rooms. The Tendaana enters a silent and empty compound. He goes to the secret place where the sacrosanct Chieftainship fetish is kept, pours a libation to it, and asks blessings for the Chief and all the land. When he has finished he enters the Chief's room to offer him New Year greetings, and so departs. Thus is the Chief every year renewed by a symbolic drama reenacting his first installation.

Two more days of festivity remain, during which all Tongo celebrates the New Year. Great quantities of food are cooked; there is visiting and counter-visiting, especially by affinal and cognatic relatives, and every one congratulates his neighbor on having seen another year. But the major interest of Daa is the holocaust of sacrifices which accompanies it. Fowls, guinea fowls, dogs, sheep, goats are slaughtered by the dozen in sacrifice to ancestors and to medicine fetishes. The roots of the latter are renewed, and thus given a new lease of life. There is more dancing to celebrate this, and another visit of the Baari Tendaana to the Chief to invoke blessings for the coming year. When the moon ends a few days after, the Namoos have finally done with their Harvest and New Year festival. Before that the Chief may not eat of the new guinea corn, though commoners do.

Two points deserve notice in this series of ritual celebrations. First, they express clearly the ambivalent relationships between the Namoos and their neighbors, and the bridging function of the Gbizug Tendaana. It is as if they were joined in a mutual responsibility each for the other,

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based upon a profound antagonism. Second, the rites evidently recreate and regenerate the religious, the magical, and the traditional bulwarks of the social life of the Namoos.

A week later the scene shifts to the Hill Tallis. On the first day of the following moon, Bɔɣaraam ŋmarig, the Tallis begin their harvest festival of the same name. Despite the difference of name, it is the Daa festival translated into the peculiar and esoteric ritual idiom of the Hill Tallis. Namoos and Tallis, as the exclusion of the former from the inner mysteries at Baari indicated, constitute two religious sects. The cult of the bɔɣar, after which the Hill Tallis name their festival, dominates the religion of all the Tallis, but is known to the Namoos only by hearsay. Its hypertrophied development among the Hill Tallis is indeed completely hidden from their own sect-brethren at Baari and Gbizug. A bɔɣar may be a grove of trees, a cave in the hillside, or a small natural enclosure made by trees and boulders. It is truly sacred, for it may be entered only for ritual purposes, and in the company of all the ritual officiants. A bɔɣar's communicants generally comprise a group of linked lineages or of several clans, each of which appoints one officiant. All the ritual of the bɔɣar cult is built up on the notion of sacrifice, and every officiant or his representative must be present at every sacrifice. It is an axiom that a quarrel or dispute between communicants must be healed at once, by rites of reconciliation at the bɔɣar. The bɔɣar is the pinnacle of their ancestor cult, for it is there that all the ancestors of the communicants reside. It has tremendous magical power, amoral, like all Tale magic, and therefore applicable both for beneficient and maleficent ends. Thus its potency as fertility magic is widely renowned, and it can be invoked to bring death and destruction upon an enemy, by its communicants.

This, and much more, I learnt with very great difficulty, only after I had been initiated. For many months my enquires were fruitless. The Namoos know the dates of Bɔɣaraam, and the dances. Of the rituals they had, despite centuries of intimate contact, absolutely no knowledge. Indeed they refuse to hear of it, for they regard the cults of the Tallis with fear and aversion. The Tallis, on the other hand, never ceased to warn me against betraying what I had seen to my Namoos friends. It is, for them, the sin against the Holy Ghost punishable by instantaneous death, inflicted by the bɔɣar. This, the most absolute cleavage between the Namoos and the Hill Tallis, depends upon the fact that the latter initiate their sons into their cult. Nothing corresponding to initiation exists among the Namoos or even Gbizug or Baari. The Bɔɣaraam ritual is at the same time communion, initiation, and offering of first fruits.

The various bɔɣar congregations commence the ritual of Bɔɣaraam on

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182 even to the date of its festival, each community celebrates its release from the hazards of the past year and especially of the food-growing season, and fortifies itself by magical and religious techniques for another year. Nothing could more strikingly demonstrate the factors of dichotomy and antagonism in the polarity which we saw previously to be fundamental to Tale political structure than the difference between the rites of the Hill Tallis and those of the Namoos. It is true that every Tale ceremonial activity expresses the exclusiveness of the group performing it; but in these festivals the expression of difference has a political validity because it is reciprocal. The difference is published in the dance and dramatized in esoteric ritual.

But Namoos and Tallis are culturally equivalent communities, dwelling in close juxtaposition, having intimate economic and social relationships with each other. This, it seems to me, sets a limit to the degree of antagonistic differentiation tolerable; and thus the other factor in the polarity of Tale society comes into existence—the equilibrium between the two communities. The very opposition, as it were, engenders dependence. This aspect of Namoos-Tallis relations comes out clearly in the ceremony at Baari, in the visits of the Baari Tendaana to the Chief, and in the ritual reenacting of the Chief's induction at Tongo. It is notable how these rituals vividly insulate each group from the other, while at the same time uniting them in common responsibility for the welfare of the country.

182 796 The same compulsion to coöperate in the magical safeguarding of the land and the people obtains between the Namoos and the Hill Tallis. It is expressed in the Golib festival, which unfortunately space does not permit me to describe fully. The purpose of this festival, which occurs in the last month of the dry season, is to ensure a successful sowing and harvesting of early millet and to call down the blessing of fertility in general. In it all the clans of the Hill Tallis collaborate ritually and unite to dance together. In their ritual collaboration the distribution of offices and sacred apparatus among the several clans is so remarkably equal that each one of them can claim with ostensibly full justification to be more important than [578] the others. It so happens that a bitter personal feud is at present raging between one of these officiants, on the one hand, and the Chief of Tongo and another of the Golib officiants, on the other. But none of them could escape his obligation to coöperate with his enemy in the appropriate ceremonial situations. Here, perhaps, is a clue to the problem of why ritual forms and religious situations should be the institutional media selected for the expression of the equilibrium in Tale society. They have a compulsive power which a pragmatic institution orientated to the demands of the objective world could never have.

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Golib is a dangerous month, during which both Namoos and Tallis are subject to numerous taboos, mainly aimed at averting quarrels and strife at the dances and in everyday relations between the groups. It is forbidden to shed blood on the earth, lest supernatural death overtake one, to take a wife, to carry out the final ceremonies connected with delayed funeral rites, to wear cloth garments in any of the Hill Tallis settlements, and so forth. Marriages are the cause of most inter-group litigation, and funeral ceremonies represent social situations in which large numbers of people from different settlements congregate and often give rise to disputes. Throughout, the Namoos are spectators of the dancing and excluded from the ritual. But on two occasions they meet the Hill Tallis in ceremonial interaction. In the inaugural rites the Hill Tallis, led by their Tendaanas, march to all their sacred groves in succession blowing sacred whistles in honor of them. When they reach the sacred groves which lie in Tongo, every Namoo man, woman, and child hides indoors. A Namoo who sees these rites of the Hill Tallis risks the destruction of his entire home and family by the outraged sacred groves. Once again, therefore, are the Namoos and Tallis mutually insulated or segregated by the symbolism of unchallengable ritual, the living affirmation of tradition. But there is a ritual reintegration of the groups. The final rite of Golib requires the coöperation of the Chief of Tongo. Again led by their Tendaanas, the Hill Tallis come down to the Chief's house to dance; and there Tendaanas and Chief join together to beg for blessings upon the land, for the safety of the people and the abundance of crops.

To revert to the harvest festivals, the magical and religious value of the ceremonial to the group performing it must not blind us to its socially integrative functions. The former is mainly determined by the seasonal context of the festivals and is evidenced preeminently in commonplace techniques, such as the sacrifice. The latter, which is determined primarily by the context of the social structure, is evidenced in the ceremonies peculiar to the occasion. These differ completely in content, as between Namoos and Tallis, a fact which the natives would explain by citing the historically different origins of the two groups. This suggests the principle common to all the integrative ceremonies. It is the dramatization of the nodal, hence traditionally sanctioned, relationship in the social structure of each group —the Chieftainship at Tongo, the right of access to the boyar among the Tallis. This fundamental bond is resuscitated in both the symbolical and the direct phases of the ceremonies. The Chief and the Gbizug or Baari Tendaana thus reimpose on each other those responsibilities which bind them to a common task; and, by the very same rites, the Chief and his